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I. S. O. A.

IN MEMORIAM
GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE



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Gaganendranath Tagore

GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE

by RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Unfortunately for the last few years of his life Gaganendra's activities had ceased and the dark shadow of a disease that suddenly enveloped him kept him away from the outside world. This is why his untimely death has hardly been noticed as leaving any gap in our national culture. He has been deprived by an unjust fate of his due of the homage of a public mourning which all men of genius deserve immediately after death.

It was not because of the natural bond of relationship which made him so dear to us who were his kindred, but rather because of a spontaneous graciousness of his nature, a generous combination of "sweetness and light." He had a large fund of social wisdom, a quiet dignity and distinction which may be called aristocratic, although it had not the slightest hint of proud aloofness, for he strangely attracted even those who belonged to alien races by his genuine spirit of welcome, free from all show of conventional effusiveness usual in our society. He seemed to carry hospitality in his handsome countenance, in his reticent smile; and his very presence radiating cheerfulness all round him was a source of enjoyment for all of us. What hurt me cruelly was to realise that he who was so richly human, so sensitive to all things that had any sign of excellence was prevented, long before the period of waning vitality, from the free exercise of a rare gift of delightfulness, owing to a disease that obstructed for him most of the channels of human communication, making us who deeply loved him almost thankful to death when it came.

I never pretend to be a critic in matters of art, never having had any opportunity of training in my life, and I can only express the unsophisticated admiration which I always felt for his works. What profoundly attracted me was the uniqueness of his creation, a lively curiosity in his constant experiments, and some mysterious depth of their imaginative value.

Closely surrounded by the atmosphere of a new art movement, initiated by his own renowned brother,—the movement which was directed towards the exploration of the sources of inspiration in the creative mind of the ancient East, half obliterated at that moment by age-long obscurity of oblivion,—he sought out his own untrodden path of adventure, attempted marvellous experiments in colouring and made fantastic trials in the magic of light and shade.

He went far outside all class limits, only occasionally dallying with cubistic art within a safe limit of sanity, evidently attracted by his curiosity for the untried possibilities of the unusual. His art has fortunately escaped the smudging fingers of imitation owing to the orthodox suspicion of all things that are unauthorised.

Before I conclude I must mention another speciality in his talent, not so wellknown, which was his power of dramatic impersonation. Evidently it had its foundation in his extensive human interest, his sense of humour, and his love for giving expression to all forms of human experience. In fact it was a part of his gift for visualising dreams. In his character there was the combination of the mellow and mature humanity, and the æsthetic sensibility that responded to all different chords of perfection.

GAGANENDRANATH TAGORE AS I KNEW HIM

By DINESH CHANDRA SEN

For the last nine years of his life Gaganendranath Tagore had lost the power to speak and to paint. He could be seen but occasionally, occupying an easy-chair in the spacious verandah facing south on the first floor of the palatial building belonging to the Tagore family. His noble and genial presence even thus handicapped radiated calmness and assuaged the sadness of his family.

I had deferred a long time before I went to him in his years of silence. But at last I felt that he would be pained if I did not go and one morning overcoming my hesitancy I actually called on him. I could not compose myself as I beheld him and I fell to weeping. His eyes too were suffused with tears. Thus we two wept together for a long time and the mutual feelings conveyed to each other through tears could not possibly be expressed through the medium of any human language. For twenty years I had been his constant companion and his younger brothers Samarendra and Abanindra were nearer to me than many of my own relatives.

The deep rooted friendship between myself and this family begun when at the end of the year 1897 after the publication of my "History of Bengali Language and Literature" I came to Calcutta and the three brothers Tagore enlisted me as one of their most intimate friends and helped me most liberally to tide over my financial and other difficulties. By their various acts of kindness they drew me forcibly to them. I used to spend most of my time at their house at Jorasanko.

The day when Gagan Babu lost his eldest son, a very fine looking young boy of sixteen who died of typhoid fever, I was living in the residence at Loudon Street in Calcutta of His Highness the Maharaja of Tipperah which was, for some time, placed at my disposal. The unfortunate event took place in a rented house, quite close to the house of the Maharaja.

Gagan Babu had spent not less than Rupees fifty thousand on the marriage of this boy only a very short time before this great calamity had overtaken the family. What should I say of this unhappy day ? The atmosphere of uninterrupted peace and joy which all along prevailed in that family suddenly broke up under the shadow of this bereavement. The subdued wailings of the ladies heard from the inner apartments were sneered at by their heartless Anglo-Indian neighbours. The family could no longer stay in the European quarters and they hurriedly returned to their family residence at Jorasanko. One day Gagan Babu said, "Dinesh Babu, I am really unable to stand this shock, it will indeed drive me mad. Could you suggest how we can regain our peace of mind ?"

I said, "Yes, I can suggest a remedy, but influenced by Western ideas as your family is, would you accept it ?"

I engaged a Kathak to tell to the family Pauranik stories interspersed with songs. This Kathak (professional story-teller) was Kshetranath Shiramani. All the ladies and the members of the family assembled one evening to listen to Kshetra Kathak's interpretation of the epics.

Kshetra Kathak was then about fifty years old ; his complexion, if not very dark, was very near to it ; a fat figure, a napkin in hand and with a large floral garland tied round his head, he sat on a slightly elevated seat. The large drawing-room of the house on the first floor was filled with relations, the ladies and friends of the family.

Kshetra Kathak had a wonderful ability of describing mythological stories. His powers as a singer were not of a very high order but there was nothing in his voice which might be taken exception to ; he used to sing very little, but in the selection of phrases and in character-painting his power was outstanding, so much so that the whole auditorium listened to him spell-bound for hours together. Sometimes they sobbed and at others tears filled their eyes. The tales were all interspersed with Sanskrit phrases and Kshetra Kathak's style of presentation was as elegant as it was moving and the whole audience followed him throughout with unflagging interest and attention. The words he used in giving shape to the divine beings introduced by him in his recitation appeared as if they were precious gems, selected specially for the purpose from the depth of the great Indian epics. Many of us have read novels but I dare say that if they could ever hear such beautiful mythological stories as those related



by Kshetra Kathak through tears and in a tremulous voice, they would be obliged to admit that there is nothing in our modern literature which can take the place of our traditional literature. Kshetra Kathak was at first appointed for one evening only but his services were continued for two months. Nobody among the 'educated' and 'élite' listening to his stories had any idea that there were such an unending flow of pathos and meaning of every description running through the old legendary tales of this province before Kshetra Kathak had narrated them. Besides the three brothers, Dwijendranath, Satyendranath and Jyotirindranath Tagore were among the regular audience, Rabindranath Tagore was also seen occasionally listening to the Kathak.

At the end of the period Gagan Babu told me, "Dinesh Babu, your suggestion has indeed given me and my family great consolation and pleasure".

Gagan Babu enjoyed Kshetra Kathak's narration as keenly and attentively as we all did, but he had always pencil and paper in his hands during the entertainment. His keen eye did not fail to notice any peculiar posture exhibited by the Kathak in the course of his narration. The occasional tearing off of the garland from round his head and the spreading out of his arms hither and thither in a state of great excitement were fixed by Gagan Babu with a rapid movement of his pencil. I do not know whether these sketches are still in the art gallery of the family. One of the sketches has been included in my book entitled *ঘরের কথা ও যুগ সাহিত্য*। "Personal reminiscences and contemporary literature". These pencil sketches seldom left the possession of their maker. He never copied any picture. His searching eyes, even when he was engaged in a very serious business, followed every person and noticed his peculiarities of speech, of laughter and of expressing annoyance.

He had a permanent model for his drawings and this model he found in the person of Moti Babu. This gentleman formerly belonged to the Postal Department of Government and at the end of the prescribed period of service he retired and succeeded in winning the confidence of Gagan Babu and his brothers. Moti Babu's duty was to arrange for and supervise the raising of temporary sheds on festive occasions. The brothers had the habit of selecting books for purchase from the lists published in columns of the different newspapers every day and Moti Babu also purchased these.

He visited markets every day for the purpose and it is needless to say that he made some money out of it. Sitting in a chair in front of Gagan Babu, with a silver mounted 'hukka' in his hand, Moti Babu used to puff at it in the morning when the former carried on a lively discussion on various topics with his friends and relations who came there to see him. Gagan Babu always kept a close watch on Moti Babu, unnoticed by him. Moti Babu, in his own way, sometimes yawned, sometimes disclosed his internal agitation by twisting his brows and sometimes covered his face with a dense smoke drawn from the 'hukka' which he placed for a while on the floor against the wall. Gagan Babu did not fail to notice these and hundred other changes of expression of the old man and he drew sketches without his knowledge. There is however no record as to the number of such sketches drawn by him but each of them was noted for its originality.

Sometimes Gagan Babu took pleasure in causing Moti Babu to lose his temper and for this purpose he would invariably put some sly questions to him. "What profit have you made in raising the temporary shed? How much commission have you earned in purchasing these books? Moti Babu would thereupon fling his arms into the air in a great rage and overpowered by temper he would try to prove his indifference to money in half expressed language. Having thus succeeded in achieving his object, Gagan Babu would move his pencil rapidly and finish his sketch.

Moti Babu was about seventy years old when I first saw him. I never found him clean shaven, his moustache and beard were short but the moustache was thick, and the beard pointed and irregular due perhaps to his not trimming it properly; his hair was rough and unruly; his complexion however might have been fair when he was young but in his old age had turned copper-colour.

Moti Babu did not like Kshetra Kathak's familiarity with the family and often expressed his dissatisfaction saying, that they had found out only one Kathak not knowing that there were many others, more meritorious than he. The brothers at last gave him a chance. He thus began to introduce a number of Kathaks, one after another, using superlatives as regards their proficiency while introducing them. But each of them proved a disappointment and, in the end, Kshetra Kathak won back his position in the family, firmer than ever. But two or three months after, the wheel of fortune actually turned against him.

One day Rabindranath said : "Gagan, you have, by this time, enjoyed Kathakathas for a pretty long time,—if only you could listen to the Kirtan songs by Shibu, I am sure you would feel charmed. I cannot forget his Kirtan which I heard at Shilaidaha." The brothers at once requested the poet to bring Shibu down to Calcutta.

Shibu Saha was an inhabitant of Kustia and was the poet's tenant. He was a Kirtan singer by profession. He was about fifty-five years old, a man of robust constitution and his complexion was fair. It was arranged that he would sing in the morning and Kshetra Kathak would continue for some time to entertain them in the evening.

Shibu sang 'Goshtha' on the first day. It was so beautifully sung that when we heard him it seemed that we were all ushered into a new world of thought. The Goshtha describes Sri Krishna's period of adolescence, his supernatural qualities, his leadership among the cowherds with whom he spent a considerable part of this period of his life, the extra-ordinary powers displayed by him to extricate himself and his friends from imminent danger, his foster-mother's deep affection for him, and her methods of punishing him, her disinclination to permit him to accompany the cowboys to tend the cattle in the field and her ultimate surrender to their insistent requests upon their promise to protect him from all dangers. It describes these and hundred other minute details connected with the early life of this incarnation of God. The language used in composing the songs and the stories exemplifies the superiority of spiritualism over everything of an ephemeral and material interest and inculcates a strong belief in the highest philosophical truths. The alliterations used in the songs, and their themes are of the finest quality both from the viewpoint of phonetics and also with regard to the ideas they seek to convey and it is impossible to translate them into any other language without a total distortion of the sense conveyed by the original and its phonetics.

The Kirtans, sung by Shibu, who was noted for his sweet and melodious voice, exercised a powerful influence over those who heard him. He could at once raise the atmosphere from the mundane plane to the highest spiritual sphere by his devotional exposition of the philosophical suggestions contained in the songs, sung by him. One day when Shibu was to sing a Kirtan describing the spiritual love between Radha and Krishna, Rabindranath Tagore was afraid lest the singer might introduce some

expressions which might be taken exception to by ladies listening to his Kirtan. Reassuring the poet, Shibu said, "Sir, we sing these Kirtans only as part of the devotional side of religion". Indeed, when he began to sing the Kirtan, he pitched his background so high that the audience listened to him with tears in their eyes and in perfect silence. His performance had a powerful appeal to the softer side of the human heart. Dwijendranath Tagore, the grand old man, and all the rest who listened to the Kirtan that day passed their time in sobbing and shedding tears throughout the performance.

When the general trend of opinion thus ran high in favour of Shibu, Kshetra came to me and said, "Shibu has practically dislodged me ; it was indeed very difficult for me to create a taste for mythological subjects in the minds of these highly educated and cultured people, influenced as they are by Western ideas ;—but this change has at last ceased to benefit me."

Gagan Babu was all along enjoying the Kirtan as attentively as the rest of the audience. But he had not even for a single day given rest to the pencil he held in his hand. He went on drawing all the different changes of expressions and of the various movements of the limbs as exhibited by Shibu, when singing the Kirtan songs. We could not, on account of our deep absorption, notice when and how he drew them. We were surprised to see them when the song was over. I got from him some of these pencil sketches,—but on the day when I took them out for the purpose of selecting a few for block-making, a sudden gust of wind blew away all these sketches and they disappeared from my view in the twinkling of an eye, dancing from roof to roof. I could save only one which has been published in my "Personal reminiscences and contemporary literature."

In this connection I think it necessary to make a particular point clear to my readers. Kirtan songs were formerly confined to the low class people and the Vaishnava sect. The understanding of these songs by members of the Tagore family stimulated their appreciation among the educated classes. Soon after, C. R. Das recognised the importance of these songs as a principal national asset and spent large sums of money for their performance. His talented daughter, Aparna Devi, is herself a Kirtan singer and has charmed the whole of Bengal by her extraordinary power and lovely voice.



Practically speaking most of the social reforms introduced in our society had their origin in the Tagore family. This was the principal centre around which Brahmoism and the idea of women's emancipation developed and ultimately spread in this province. Gagan Babu's house can rightly claim to have given birth to modern Indian art. The name of Abanindranath Tagore as the founder of a renaissance of Indian painting is widely known. Gagan Babu, in his works went his own way. He had no craving for fame and he used to draw because he could not do otherwise. I never found him sitting idle. The drawings he made in my presence were innumerable. Jyotirindranath Tagore also sketched a large number of people, but Gagan Babu's efficiency was unparalleled. His speciality lay in the perspicuity of the facial expression and of the inner state of mind of the person portrayed.

For some time he drew scenes illustrating 'Vidyasundar'. I took away some of these pictures from him and put them up on the walls of the old and dilapidated rented house in which I was then living. They were unfortunately spoilt by dampness. These pictures were painted in subtle colours and one of them had a very special appeal to me. It showed the arrival of Sundar at Burdwan where he was seated in the shade of a Bakul tree, the flower-woman Hira standing in front of him. Her eyes clearly expressed the message she was there to deliver. I selected an appropriate couplet from an old Bengali manuscript explaining the picture and inscribed it at the bottom of the painting.

His critical keenness found fullest expression in the cartoons produced by him. I remember an amusing cartoon in which an orthodox and dignified looking man, with beard and moustache and spectacles, was seen proceeding through a public thoroughfare along with the crowd. While walking, his eyes caught the sight of a woman looking out from a window of a road-side building and through absent-mindedness one of his feet slipped into a drain. Gagan Babu would at once detect the sham and unreal from anything he saw, and expose it in his cartoons to be laughed at. One day I saw him drawing the picture of a Calcutta road. It was jammed with vehicular traffic of all descriptions, motor cars, motor lorries, hackney carriages, etc., but they were all motionless. In front of all these, there was, at a little distance, a bullock cart lying across the road and the driver was chewing and enjoying the juice

of a sugar cane with his eyes half-closed, unmindful of the deadlock created by him.

Many are his serial pictures, illustrating Chaitanya Lila and several legendary tales, each series consistent in the manner of painting and adequate to its subject. While Abanindranath Tagore's paintings show their indebtedness to the tradition of painting consolidated during the Moghal period, and based on classical Indian painting, as in Ajanta, and some of his pupils, trained in the new school of Indian art, founded by him have distinguished themselves in an attempt of embodying in their works the lessons learned in Ajanta, Bagh, etc., Gagan Babu did not follow any particular school of Indian art, and his paintings are free from Moghal, Ajanta, Kangra and other art idioms. By virtue of his introspection, he could see the world with his own eyes and draw pictures on original lines. Bengal in its different phases has found expression in Gagan Babu's work.

I have come across few men as active as Gagan Babu was. His principal occupation was, of course, painting but occasionally his activities found expression in other directions also. He spent much time in building a stage for theatrical performances by the members of his family. Many of the members of his family including the poet took part in these performances but Gagan Babu's success in whatever part he played was always most signal. When he appeared on the stage, he used to receive an enthusiastic reception from all directions of the auditorium. Even his relations could not recognise him on account of the changes of his voice and facial expression, as assumed by him on such occasions.

Once he and his brothers removed all the pictures, by famous French and Italian artists, which their forefathers had collected, from the walls of their large hall and gave them away. The sumptuous flower-vases and other objects, which for many years adorned the tables in the hall, as they were made in Europe, received a similar treatment at the hands of the brothers. In divesting their palatial building of everything of foreign origin, the brothers seemed to take such pleasure as is perhaps enjoyed by iconoclasts. They had heard the call of their motherland and attempted to give a legitimate place to Indian art. Whatever ideas took shape in this family to-day, captured West Bengal on the morrow and found staunch supporters in East Bengal the day after. Indian art has now at last received recognition almost everywhere in this country; but there was a time

when any adverse criticism of Ravi Varma was considered intolerable by many. The discussions held by the brothers in their drawing room were an eye-opener to me, enabling me as they did, to become aware of the intrinsic qualities of Indian art.

During this period, a large number of ancient paintings, some on wooden book-covers, ancient images and many other works of Indian art were collected by the brothers. I introduced to them one Ramkumar Dutta of Patrasayer, District Birbhum, for collecting old and rare works of art and his services were largely utilised by Abanindranath for the purpose. Among the Moghal paintings collected was one, representing Aurangzeb. The darkness of the evening was thickening,—the scarlet hue of the setting sun was gradually disappearing from the blue waters of the river Jumna,—a boat mounted with gold and propelled by a large number of oarsmen was running swiftly through the river,—the oarsmen wore red turbans and red short coats, the boat itself having no roof ;—sitting on a carpet of gold the Emperor was reading the Quoran,—his white beard flowing down his breast ; what a marvellous combination of reds and blues and what a calm and composed figure of the Emperor were displayed in this picture ! Abanindranath was more enthusiastic in collecting specimens of ancient Indian art than Gagan Babu. I shall however cite here an example of the latter's inordinate love for things made in this country. One wintry morning, Gagan Babu came to my house at Shyambazar and found me covered with a blanket (*kānthā*). The design was run in an exquisitely delicate and decorative style. It was made in some village, and it was presented to me by a lady of my family. Gagan Babu was dressed in a new English overcoat which must have cost him about seventy or eighty Rupees. He took it off and threw it on my back and started a regular tug-of-war with me to take away my blanket in exchange for his costly overcoat. I said, 'I shall get another blanket made for you,—this being a token of affection I am very sorry I am unable to part with it.' I could clearly realise his feeling of disappointment at my refusal.

He was as a rule however to be found every morning with a drawing-book and a pencil in hand. He used to draw in black on white many satirical and mythological subjects, and each of them bore a special stamp. Once he engaged a Japanese artist and desired him to illustrate the Ramayana and Mahabharata. This artist was totally ignorant of Hindi, Bengali

and English ;—he had not even any knowledge of the subject of the Indian epics and the task of interpreting the subject fell upon me. Words fail to convey an adequate idea of the difficult position in which I was thus placed. I had to explain everything to the artist simply by gestures. Fortunately for me the pictures painted by him turned out to be very good and free from any notable defect. He also painted two large pictures, one illustrating Yudhishtira's ascent to heaven and another, Krishna's Rasalila ; both these paintings hung in the drawing room of the Tagore family for a long time.

My long connection with the family gave me a rare opportunity to study Gagan Babu from every point of view. Large-heartedness and magnanimity were noteworthy features of his conduct towards men. I dare say I have never at any time of my life come across any person whose qualities of the heart might be comparable with those of this great and unassuming man, though many did not know of these traits of his character.

At a particular stage of my life, I was incapacitated by nervous debility from doing any work. I was then living with my family in a small two-storeyed rented house in Shampukur lane. The rent I paid for it was Rs. 11 per month. Taking into account the dimensions of the rooms, the house could be compared with pigeon-holes. It consisted of two or three rooms, each of which could scarcely accommodate more than one person and the sand-plaster was dropping from the walls. The corners of every room were covered with cobwebs and occasionally snakes were found sheltered under the same roof with us. My children constantly suffered from typhoid fever, ophthalmia, beriberi and other contagious diseases. Gagan Babu and his brothers very often used to come and see me in this house. Gagan Babu would, on such occasions, start his conversation saying "We like this small building ; there is no superfluity in its furniture. Even the finger-impressions of the children on the walls bear a stamp of affection ; the spiders are weaving 'muslins',—their workmanship and patience are admirable. We, in our buildings, have entirely gagged nature. We feel a genuine pleasure when we come to your house." I could easily see that behind his outward appreciation of my house there was nothing but unalloyed love and sympathy for me sunk into abject poverty. But the manner in which he spoke led one to believe that he said what he felt.

One day the poet Rabindranath came to Gagan Babu and said in my



presence, "Dinesh Babu has purchased a small plot of land in Shyambazar with financial help from his friends. How to build a house is now a problem for him." When these remarks were made by the poet I felt greatly embarrassed.

A couple of days after when I went to Gagan Babu, he said, "Dinesh Babu, why don't you build a house? I will bear all costs." Even his brothers were surprised at this. It was not possible according to their status of life and ideas, to build a house in Calcutta for accommodating a family at less than twenty or thirty thousand Rupees. But I did not pay much attention to Gagan Babu's offer and took it as one of hundred topics and remarks that I was accustomed to hear from him, and came back to my house as usual. Two or three days later, Gagan Babu said, "Dinesh Babu, where is the plan of your house? Why don't you give it to me and let me sanction an amount for it at once." That day too I made no reply as I thought that my acceptance of the offer might displease the other members of the family. But he continued to press me for a plan every day. At last he seemed to be annoyed with me and said, "Where is the plan? I suppose you have no faith in my promises." After a good deal of thinking, I went to him on the following day with a plan in my hand. The building shown in the plan consisted of a large room divided by wooden partitions into three compartments, with tiled roof. The estimated cost as shown in it was Rupees eighteen hundred. Everybody was pleased with it but Gagan Babu said, "Dinesh Babu, you are simply deceiving me,—is it possible to build a house at Rupees eighteen hundred?" Some of his relations replied "Dinesh Babu is now in great difficulties ;—he would feel happy if he could build a house like the one shown in the plan." Gagan Babu urged, "All right, let him have Rupees eighteen hundred at once and give him the extra beams, rafters and doors, lying in our store-house."

When I attended the Shraddh ceremony of the departed, such memories along with reminiscences of many festive occasions in this house came back to my mind. One of the greatest artists of this country and the noblest mind I knew had left us. Abanindranath Tagore and his learned brother Samarendranath are now maintaining the tradition of the family.

Transl.

Pl. I. Caitanya and the footprints of Visṇu ; Pl. II. Fig. 1. Birth of Caitanya ; Fig. 2. Lullaby Song ; Pl. III. Ink Studies ; by G. N. Tagore.

SOME SOUTH INDIAN METAL IMAGES AND THEIR DHYĀNAS

By S. GÖPALACHARI *

Tripurāntakamūrti :

Dhyāna

धनुर्दानयुतोपेत वामेतरकरान्वितः
परहस्तो जिह्वतो वाथ द्विहस्तस्त्रिपुरान्तकः ॥

—उत्तरकामिक ।

Dhanurbānayutopeta vāmetarakarānvitah
Parahastojjhito vātha dviastas tripurāntakah,

(Uttara-Kāmika)

"Tripurāntaka may have a single pair of arms, the other pair being omitted, and should have the bow and arrow in his two hands."

Pl. IV and Pl. V, Fig. 1. Date¹. 9th century; Height. 28", of which base $3\frac{1}{2}$ "; Place. Tanjore District. Two-armed standing figure, with the left leg advanced. The left hand is raised high so as to hold a bow and the right hand is in 'kaṭaka' pose so as to hold an arrow. Hair dressed high in the form of a 'jaṭāmakūṭa', with the crescent and the snake on the left and the 'datura' flower on the right. Very small 'śiraś-cakra' close to the head, on the back (Pl. V, Fig. 1), the hair flowing in single strands over the back. A 'patrakuṇḍala' in the left ear. Plain and broad necklaces (hāra). A thick 'yajñopavīta' with a tassel high up on the left. Waistband (udara-bandha). Armlets (keyūra) tied in a knot on the outside of the

* The images reproduced on Pls. IV—XVI are from the collection of South Indian metal images of Mr. S. Gopalachari.

1. Approximate dates only can be indicated.



right hand, and on the lower side of the raised left hand. No elaborate ornamentation. Girdle showing a central ornament with two small loops on either side, the median loop being in the form of an oval, slightly twisted, tapering in an ornamental bow on either side. Folded ends of cloth on right and left sides of the legs. Foot-rings (pādasara). Pedestal (pīṭha) missing. No halo (tiruvāṣi).

The figure would appear to be that of Rāma at the first glance, but the 'jaṭamakuṭa' makes it clear that it is Śiva. Having regard to its features, it must be one of three types : The Music Teacher, i. e. Vīṇādhara-mūrti or Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti; or it may be an Anugrahamūrti, viz., the Kirātārjunamūrti—the Hunter Śiva who presented the 'pāsupatāstra' to Arjuna; or it may be a Samhāramūrti, i. e. the Tripurāntakamūrti, the Mahādeva, who slew the three Asuras and reduced their three castles or cities to ashes.

The 'makuta' or crown on the head, the 'kuṇḍala' in the ear—the 'patra kuṇḍala' in the left and the 'makara kuṇḍala' in the right—and the 'samabhaṅga' or straight pose of the body—these are features common to all the three types. But Vīṇādhara is always known to possess four hands; and further, the position of the hands, the left hand being raised, as well as the particular way in which it is held—adjusted so as to hold a bow,—rule out the possibility of Vīṇādhara.

There are therefore but two alternatives open. The pose of the hands, and the posture of the legs—the weight resting on the right, and the left one bent—are features common to both Kirātārjunamūrti and Tripurāntakamūrti. As regards Kirātārjunamūrti, it is doubtful if it possesses only two hands. A figure in the South Arcot District however with only two hands instead of four has been described by T. B. Nayar in Vol. III No. 1 of the Annamalai University Journal, apparently because the Mūrti is shown more as a hunter than as Śiva; and there is also the additional justification that the figures of Arjuna and Pārvatī have also been found along with the Śiva mūrti.

The probability therefore is that this figure is Tripurāntakamūrti; and the Uttara Kāmikāgama refers to a Tripurāntakamūrti with two hands only. In fact, it is the first variety mentioned in this text.

A slight indication of a smile is on the lips. This is the characteristic smile with which according to the Purāṇas, the Tripurāntakamūrti reduced

the three demons to ashes without the aid offered by the other gods who were all proud of their respective parts in the encounter.

This image may be counted amongst the oldest South Indian bronzes in existence. No other bronze image of Tripurāntakamūrti, has yet become known.

Naṭarāja :

Dhyāna

एकास्यं तु चतुर्भुजं त्रिनयनं ऊर्ध्वं पदं कुञ्चितं
वन्दे कीर्णजटं नटेशमनिशापरस्मारदेहे स्थितम् ।

—काश्यपीय ।

Ekāsyam tu caturbhujam trinayanam ūrdhvam padam kuñcitam
Vande kīrṇajāṭam naṭeśamaniśāpasmāradehe sthitam.

(Kāśyapīya)

"With a single face, four hands, three eyes, one leg lifted and bent, with his matted locks scattered and always standing on the body of Apasmāra—I bow to such a Naṭeśa."

PL V, Fig. 2. Date. 10th century ; Height. 27", of which base 6" ; Place. Chingleput District. Śiva dancing, as Naṭeśa ; the right foot tramples the Apasmārapuruṣa, the left one raised high, but not thrown across the right as usual. The Apasmārapuruṣa lying on the ground on his face, with agony shown on it, holds in his hand a snake. With legs like those of a frog, he lies in the same direction as that faced by the god, which is quite unusual. Śiva is three-eyed and four-armed, the lower right hand in 'abhaya' pose, the upper right hand holds the 'ḍamaru', the upper left holds not the usual flame, but a serpent the hood of which rests on the shoulder of the god, and the lower left hand points downward and is thrown across the body. The hair is dressed high in a peculiar manner ; the headdress bears on the right side the crescent at the top and the skull at the bottom with snakes between, and on the left side snakes with a large 'datura' flower at the bottom, all shown in the round. 'Makarakuṇḍala' in the right ear and a cylindrical 'patrakuṇḍala' in the left ear. Three necklaces and 'yajñopavīta' with tassels high up on the left. The girdle has a loop at the right and flowing ends, one of which is long and on the left ; an ornamental bow with two flowing ends on the right side. Armlets



(keyūra) and wristlets. Waist-band ('udara-bandha'); a small 'śiraś-cakra' quite close to the head and almost forming part of it. The 'tiruvāśi' is missing. The 'pītha' is plain, high and rectangular in shape.

The pose of this image of Natesa would, according to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, approximate to 'ūrdhvajānu', but according to the Tamil Śivaparākrama, it would be 'bhujāṅgalalita'.

Pārvatī (?) :

Pl. VI, Fig. 1. Date. 10th century ; Height. 26", of which base 3" ; Place. Tanjore District. 'Karaṇḍamakuṭa' (i. e. inverted pots) over the head. Breast-band (kuca-bandha). 'Śiraś-cakra' ; 'maṅgalya sūtra' with 'tāli', round the neck. Three necklaces, the middle one in 'mango' pattern. The thread ornament passes between the breasts, forming a tassel and is carried on to the back where it is knotted together in an ornament. Girdle with an ornament in the centre, both in front and at the back, with loops and tassels on both sides, the end falling in folds over the right side. The pleated end of the cloth without any ornamentation projects at the inside of the right leg. 'Pādasara' with ornaments. Rings on the toes.

The pose of the figure is peculiar, stooping forward and the hands are held in an unusual gesture. Considering the pose, and the position of the hands several hypotheses are possible as regards the identification of this figure :

It may denote a lady playing ball. We are familiar with the story of Mahāviṣṇu assuming a second time at the request of Mahādeva, the Mohinī avatāra. It was the form of a bewitching damsel advancing towards the all-expectant Mahādeva in 'kanduka-līlā,' i. e. playing the ball. But we have also the familiar tale of Pārvatī, playing the ball to please her Lord. In this view it may be a Śaiva image. But in either case if the left hand is taken to indicate the 'kanduka-līlā' pose, how can it be reconciled with the position of the right hand ? Could it then be, that it represents Reṇukā Devī, the mother of Paraśurāma, and wife of Jamadagni, whose chastity was so great that when she went daily to the river, and, after bathing in it, took up some sand in her hands, it immediately assumed the form of a pot in which she carried water home. But in this case, it may be difficult to reconcile the position of the left hand. It is not, however,

usual for an image of Reṇukā Devī in any of our ancient temples, to show more than the head.

Still other suggestions are possible ; for example, the left hand would seem as if it is about to be placed on the back or the shoulder of a smaller figure in front of the main one, the right hand also placed laterally on the other side—say, Pārvatī holding one of her sons in front of her and both together gazing at the dance of Śiva. The facial expression as of one struck by some wonderful sight would appear to strengthen this suggestion. In fact, the whole figure appears to be filled with 'adbhuta rasa'.

If the figure is not an image of a goddess, it may be a portrait, possibly of a Cola queen. In 'Portrait Sculpture in South India' by T. G. Aravamuthan, Figure No. 9 a similar figure is stated to be the image of 'Sembiyan-mā-devī, the wife of the Cola king Gaṇḍar-Āditya, of the 10th century A. D. But then, are not the 'karaṇḍamakūṭa' and the 'kuca-bandha' points against such an identification ?

Mātāṅgī Devī :

Dhyāna

I. वीणामालापयन्तीं च मातङ्गीं प्रणमाम्यहम् ।

—राज मातङ्गी कल्प ।

II. नखमुखमुखरित वीणानाद रसास्वाद नवनवोल्लासम् ।

मुखमम्ब मोदयतु मां मुक्ताताटङ्क मुग्धहसितं ते ॥

—कालिदासस्य नवरत्नमाला ।

I. Viṇām ālāpayantīm ca Mātāṅgīm praṇamāmyaham.

(Rāja Mātāṅgī Kalpa).

II. Nakhamukha mukharita viṇānāda rasāsvāda navaṇavollāsam

Mukhamamba modayatu mām muktā tāṭaṅka muggha hasitam te

(Navaratnamālā of Kālidāsa-Kāvyamālā)

I. "I bow to Mātāṅgī who is playing on the Viṇā."

II. "Mother, may that face of yours gladden me, the face which is adorned with pearl earrings and a beautiful smile and which gains newer and newer grace by the delectation of the bliss of the melody of the Viṇā sounded by your nail-tips."



Pl. VII. Date. 11th century ; Height. 33", of which base 3½" ; Place. Tanjore District. Mātāṅgī Devi, also called Rāja Mātāṅgī Devī : A form of Pārvatī described as the goddess of music, Saṅgīta Mātṛkā, standing in the 'ābhaṅga' or slightly bent pose, the weight of the body being gracefully thrown on the left leg, the right leg being slightly bent forward, the two hands held as if playing the Vīṇā (lute). Hair dressed high (jaṭāmakūṭa), the lower part of the 'makūṭa' reaches into the forehead, a mass of hair falls in cork screw curls on the back. Elaborate ornamentation on the 'makūṭa' on all sides. Broad 'śiraś-cakra', also ornamented, close to the head on the back. Two necklaces, the outer one having a mango pattern, with a special ornamentation at the centre. The thread ornament passes between the two breasts, with tassels hanging from the centre and the two sides, both above and below, and is carried upward on the back where it is secured by an ornament. Armlets tied into a big knot on the outside. Elbow ornaments with projections, in front on the right, and on the side on the left. Wristlets. Rings on four of the five fingers on each hand. Girdle at the waist (kaṭi-bandha) showing a centre ornament both in the front as well as on the back, the ends gathered up and falling in folds on the left side, with loops and tassels on both sides. The cloth or drapery showing large lotus squares and wheels hangs low down to the ankles on both legs. The pleated end of the cloth on the left leg projects outwards between the legs. 'Pādasara' with a centre ornament in the front. Rings on four of the five toes on each foot. 'Padma pītha'.

The modelling of the eyes is worthy of note, the eye-brows being by no means raised like ridges, as in other bronze figures. The position of the hands is most telling. The small finger of the left hand is just a little raised and shows that the hand has just left the cord with the last vibration of sound. The 'vīṇā' itself is not there. Its hard, straight line would have been a discord in the rhythm of the curves of this image.

Annapūrṇā Devī :

Dhyāna

वामे माणिक्यपात्रं मधुरसमरितं बिभ्रतीं पाणिपद्मे
दिश्यै रत्नैः प्रपूज्यं भूत मणिवलये दक्षिणे रत्न दर्शयाम् ।

रक्ताङ्गो पीनतुङ्गस्तन भर विलसत्तापद्मं त्रिणेत्रं
वन्दे पूर्णेन्दु बिम्ब प्रतिनिधि वदना अम्बिकान्नपूर्णाम् ॥

—कारणाम्न ।

Vāme māṇikyapātram madhu rasa bharitam bibhratīm pāṇi padme
Divyairannaiḥ prapūrṇam dhṛta maṇi valaye dakṣiṇe ratna darvīm
Raktāṅgīm pīna tuṅga stana bhara vilasat tāra hārām triṇetrām
Vande pūrṇendu bimba pratinidhi vadanām ambikām Annapūrṇām.

(Kāraṇa-Āgama).

"Holding in her lotus-like left hand a ruby vessel filled with honey and celestial food and in the right hand decked with a gem-wristlet, a gem-ladle, of red-hued body, with big necklaces shining over full and high breasts,—I bow to such a Goddess, Mother Annapūrṇā, with a face like the full-moon." Pls. VIII and IX. Date. 12th century ; Height. 23½", of which base 4½" ; Place. Tanjore District. Annapūrṇā Devī, also called Viśālākṣī, a form of Pārvatī, ; two-armed, youthful figure, standing in the 'dvibhaṅga' pose (double bent pose), bent towards the right. Left hand pendant, the fingers bent (as if holding a vessel containing honey) and the right hand holding the ladle, for distributing the food (among the devotees). High breasts, wheel-pattern or lotus drapery extending up to the knee, on the right leg, and up to the ankle, on the left, the pleated end of the cloth on the left leg projecting a little from the inner side. Girdle with some ornamentation at the centre and hanging in loops and tassels at the sides. Hair divided in the centre and carried on to the back in an extraordinarily beautiful form of 'keśabandha', the twisted locks with the end pointing to the left and decorated with a wreath of flowers. Short curls fall on the forehead ; ornamentation across the head on both sides. 'Maṅgalya sūtra' with 'tālī' round the neck. Necklaces (hāra), armlets (keyūra), elbow ornaments with projections. Rings on four of the five fingers on each hand and on the toes. Square pedestal with rings for attachment when carried in procession.

Śiva :

Dhyāna

अभयवरदहस्तं सौम्यशुद्धगारभावं
विपुलवदननेत्रं चन्द्रविम्बाच्छ मौलिम् ।



ऋजु तनु समपादस्थानक विद्रुमामं
हरिण परशुपाणिं पद्म पीठोपरिस्थम् ॥

—धीतत्त्वनिधि ।

Abhaya varada hastam, saumya sṛṅgāra bhāvam
Vipula vadana netram, candra bimbāccha maulam
Rju tanu sama pāda sthānakam vidrumābham
Hariṇa parasu pāṇim, padma pīṭhoparistham.

(Śrī Tattva Nidhi)

"With two of his hands in 'abhaya' and 'varada' poses, representing the beautiful feelings of love, broad in eyes and face, with his crown white with the digit of the moon, standing straight in body and uniform in feet, of coral colour, holding in two other hands the deer and the hatchet and standing on a lotus pedestal."

Pl. X. Date. 12th century ; Height. 43" of which base 6" ; Place. Tanjore District. Śiva standing, as Candraśekara (Kevalamūrti) : Four armed and three eyed figure standing in the 'dvi-bhaṅga' (double bent) pose, the weight of the body rests on the right leg. The two upper hands in 'kartarīmukha' pose, the right holding between the second and third fingers, the axe, (paraśu) and the left similarly holding the deer (mṛga), the face of the deer being turned away from the god. The lower right hand is in the 'kaṭaka' pose and the lower left hand in the 'abhaya' pose. The hair is dressed high (jaṭāmakuṭa) and bears a small snake on the right and the crescent moon on the left, the lower part of the 'makuṭa' projecting forward a little over the forehead. 'Śiraś-cakra' or lotus disc at the back of the head. There is a 'patrakunḍala' in the left ear. Two necklaces, one a beaded one close to the neck and the outer one very broad, with an ornament in the centre. 'Yajñopavīta' with tassels high up on the left. Waist-band. Girdle with an ornamented 'simha-mukha' or lion-faced clasp. Narrow loin cloth. Armlets. Wristlets. 'Pādasara' with bells. 'Padma pīṭha'.

This is one of the largest S. Indian bronzes of Śiva known.

Caṇdeśvara :

Dhyāna

...त्रिभुजः त्रयशः शुक्लवस्त्रोऽञ्जनप्रभः ।

जटामकुटसंयुक्तः ...

स्थानकः ...

युक्ताब्जलिपुटोभवा

शङ्करेक्षणसम्पन्नः शोकनम्रशिरस्तु वा ।

—उत्तरकामिक

...Dvibhujah tryakṣaḥ śuklavastroñjanaprabhaḥ

Jaṭāmakūṭasamyuktaḥ

Sthānakah

Yuktāñjalipuṭobhavā

Śaṅkarekṣaṇasampannaḥ śokanamra śirastu vā

(Uttara-Kāmika)

"With two arms, three eyes, white garment, dark 'jaṭāmakūṭa', standing with hands in 'añjali', gazing at Śiva, or with face cast down in sorrow."

Pl. XI. Date. 12th century ; Height. 21½", of which base 2½" ; Place. Chingleput District. Caṇḍeśvara, the leader of the 'bhūtagaṇas' or devotees of Śiva¹ : Two-armed standing figure in the 'ābhaṅga' or slightly bent pose, the weight of the body being thrown on the right leg. 'Jaṭāmakūṭa' or matted locks of hair. Hands in 'añjali' pose with a garland of flowers in between, 'patrakuṇḍala' in the left ear. Necklaces (hāra) including one of mango pattern. 'Yajñopavīta' ; girdle with rich ornamentation. Armlets with knots and tassels shown outside. Wristlets. Waist-band. Short loin cloth with lotus wheel pattern drapery. 'Pādasara'.

Cola king :

Pl. XII. Date. 13th century ; Height. 30", of which base 2" ; Place. Chingleput District. A Cola king : Two-armed, standing erect, with hands in 'añjali' pose with a motif of flowers in between. 'Karaṇḍamakūṭa', with slight projection over the forehead, minutely chiselled. Big 'śiraś-cakra' on the back. Hair hangs in curls over back. Three necklaces, the last one in mango pattern. The thread ornament passes between the nipples, and on the back ; it is bound together in an ornament. Scanty and plain loin cloth. Girdle with a big ornate 'simha-mukha', the ends falling in ornamental folds on the left. Armlets with elaborate ornamentation. Elbow ornaments, with outward projection on the right arm only. Wristlets.

1. This figure closely resembles the "Śiva Devotee", cf. Rāpani, July 1921, p. 1.



Anklet on the left leg only, 'vīra-śṛṅghalā', 'pādasara'. Rings on four of the five fingers and four of the five toes,

There is an inward rapture on the face of the king¹.

Cola Queen :

Pls. XIII and XIV. Date. 13th century ; Height. 21½", of which base 2½" ; Place. Chingleput District. Standing figure in the 'tribhaṅga' (thrice-bent) pose. Right knee projecting forward a little. Right hand pendant (lolahasta), and the left raised in 'kaṭaka' pose. The hair is parted in the middle and is dressed in a bun, 'keśa-bandha' at the back, where it is secured by a broad band across the middle, and decorated with a wreath of flowers. Short curls fall on the forehead. Ornaments also in the hair. Delicately elaborate ornamentation generally. 'Maṅgalya sūtra' and three necklaces, the last one with mango pattern. The thread ornament passes between the breasts, tapering in tassels above and below, and is carried over the back, where it is secured by an ornament. Armlets (keyūra). Elbow ornaments with projection upward on the right arm only. Wristlets in a series on left arm. Rings on four of the five fingers. Girdle with a centre ornament in front and on the back ; patterned cloth clings to legs. The pleated end of the cloth projects from the inner side of the left leg. 'Pādasara', with ornamentation. 'Padma pītha'.

Lokeśvara :

Pl VI, Fig. 2. Date. 13th century ; Height. 33", of which base 3½" ; Place. Tanjore District. Lokeśvara. Four-armed standing figure in 'tribhaṅga' pose, resting on the right leg, the upper right hand holding a rosary, upper left hand holding flowers, lower right hand with 'abhaya' and the lower left hand 'varada-mudrā', 'Kiriṭamakuṭa' or crown, drawn high over the head with the brim covering part of the forehead. The hair falls in curls over the back. Three necklaces. Yajñopavīta. Waist-band (udara-bandha), girdle close-fitting, without ornamentation and without any loop or bow on the sides. Small loin cloth without ornamentation. 'Pādasara'. 'Padma pītha', on a square base. Thick blue patination all over.

1. Cf. also Aravamathan, Portrait Sculpture in South India, Fig 19.
2. The right hand with part of the right arm seem to be joined.

Devadāsi :

Dhyāna

"Madanudu bāṇamu nāpai koniveyaka
Sahimpanu vaṣamā ?"

(Varna-Sankarābaranam-Ādi-Krishnier)

"When Cupid shoots his shafts at me,
How can I bear that ?".

Pls. XV and XVI, Fig. 1. Date. 14th century ; Height. 23½", of which base 5" ; Place. Chittoor District. A dancing figure of the classical type, an exponent of 'Bharata nāṭya'.

Standing figure slightly bent towards the left. The ornamented hair is plaited at the back. In the ears are worn large rings touching the shoulders. Right hand with bent fingers pointing to the cheek. Left hand thrown out, fingers bent. Rings on the little fingers of both hands. 'Maṅgalya sūtra' with 'tāli'. Three necklaces. Armlets. Wristlets. Large pendant drooping below breasts, from a chain. Flower devices on breasts, also on buttocks, and ornamentation across hips. Girdle with an ornament in the centre, etc. Plain pyjamas extending down to the ankles. Tapering nails.

The movement of arms and hands suggests the drawing of the bow-string towards the ear, for shooting ; this is mentioned frequently in love-songs in which the merciless Manmatha showers his arrows on the separated lovers.

Yasodā-Kṛṣṇa.

Dhyāna

Kuḷakaṇe ! eṇtan komala-p-pillaoi !
Govindā ! eṇ—kutaṇkaiyil maṇṇi,
Oḷugu pèr elil ilaṇ cīru taḷir pol,
Oru kai yāl oru mulai mukam nerudā.

(Perumal Tiru-moḷi 7 [7])

Darling ! my own sweet child ! Govinda ! resting on my folded arm, toying with one of my breasts with your hand resembling a little tendril of overflowing beauty !



Pl. XVI, Fig. 2. Date. About 15th century ; Height. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' of which base $1\frac{1}{2}$ ' ; Place. Tanjore District. Yasodā, mother of Kṛṣṇa ; two armed seated figure in 'sukhāsana' pose, on a pedestal with four legs, (one of them however, missing) with the left leg folded and the right leg pendant, resting over a sandal, the sandal for the other foot lying in its proper place. The back of the mother is supported by two cushions, one over the other, held in position by a small prop from behind. The mother wears large rings in the ears, touching the shoulders. The right hand supports the half-reclining baby seated on the right lap, stretching its legs over her left leg. The left hand hangs at ease, with the elbow resting on the cushion at the back. The hair is combed and dressed in a circular 'keśa-bandha' at the back and decorated with a wreath of flowers. Short curls fall on the forehead. Ornaments over the head, the centre one being prominent. Four necklaces with tassels pendant in front and on the back as well as over the two shoulders. Armlets. Elbow ornaments with 'bāji-band' on both hands. Two wristlets on each hand, the left one having three flattened circular ornaments in the front. Rings on the fingers. The cloth or drapery hangs from the waist low down to the ankle on both legs, the pleated ends of the cloth projecting outward on both sides. 'Pādasara' with rings on the toes, visible only on the right leg.

The child on the lap rests its head on the right hand of the mother. In its right hand it holds a flower while its left hand toys with the right breast of the mother. Circular ornaments in both ears. The hair is dressed plainly. Three necklaces and other simple ornaments.

A LONG ROLL OF BUDDHIST IMAGES*

By HELEN B. CHAPIN

The fifty-second group. There follow twelve pictures with verses from one of the 'sūtras' listing the vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha,¹ put together in haphazard order. I have translated them as they appear in the text on the painting.

"The 12th vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, if there are any poor people, naked and freezing, then they shall obtain clothes. To the destitute and needy, will be given precious treasures so that the storehouses will overflow with abundance and there will be nothing lacking. All shall experience joy without measure; there will be not one who undergoes suffering. All sentient beings will have pleasing, gracious faces and modest, dignified mien. All that men desire to see, (they shall see) as they desire without limit; (what they desire to hear), the sound of the 'ch'in', of the 'sē', and of the drum, they shall hear the very best sounds without limit. These favours, I shall bestow on all creatures without end. This is Twelfth Miraculous Vow."

The picture shows an official seated before a standing screen (the Japanese 'tsutate') in the open air, dispensing goods to the poor.

"The ninth vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, the bad demons will be subdued and the various kinds of heretics will understand and praise the Law that is pure and without a superior. I will cause men to be upright and true. There will be no vicious or depraved people, for (those who were such) will have turned their footsteps on to the Eightfold path toward Supreme Enlightenment."

The scene shows a heretic embracing the religion of the Buddha. The Blessed One is seated, with his hands in 'dharmacakra mudrā', preaching, on 'kuśa' grass under a tree in a landscape. Before him kneels a man with his hands open in front of him, as if he were giving up all that he had.

"The.....vow.² (I vow that) when I come into the world, because of (my) good 'karma', I will preach the wonderful Law for innumerable creatures, even for simpletons and...?, so that they may gain a passage (to the Other Shore) and escape from (the Wheel of Life), that they may enter the gate of knowledge, so that all will understand completely and there will be no one who doubts."

The picture shows the ell of a building with a pine tree in the angle. Within the building, is seen a monk at a desk explaining the Scripture from some rolls which are before him, to a group of listeners, of whom three men and a woman and a part of another figure are visible.

* See: JISOA vol. IV, pp. 1-24; 116-125.

1. See Waley, op. cit., Introduction, pp. XXXVI and XXXVII, for a list of the 'sūtras' concerning Bhaiṣajyaguru. For the texts and translations of texts on a Tun-huang painting taken from the 'Yao-shih Liu-li-kuang Ju-lai pên-kung-tê ching', see *ibid.*, pp. 64-69. I have not yet had the opportunity of consulting the Tripiṭaka...which is not at present available to me...to see to which of the 'sūtras' the text on the Palace Museum painting most closely corresponds.

2. The number is rubbed out and an 'eight' inserted; this is not the 8th vow.



"The eleventh vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, if there are beings tormented by hunger or fire,¹ they shall obtain kind upon kind of sweet and fine food and drink ; delicacies fit for the gods, numberless in variety, shall all be presented to them, so that they will be completely satisfied."

The picture shows five men and a child in a landscape. Three of the men are looking expectantly toward a tray full of dishes which is sailing through the air. The child and one of the other men are eating and the fifth man is bending over to pick up something from the ground. One dish has left the tray and is poised in mid-air.

"The tenth vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, if there are beings sentenced by the law of princes to execution, so that they are terribly afraid and are enduring mental torture, and if there are any subjected to repeated flogging, or any whose bodies are confined by cangues or manacles, all those oppressed by various wrongs and fears, all without limit who are afflicted by trouble, I will cause them to be set free, so that there will be none in difficulty."

The picture shows an official seated in a chair under a tree with three attendants, one of whom holds his sword. An accused person kneels before him, his hands bound behind his back, while on the ground beside him is a wooden cangue.

"The seventh vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, if in the worlds of the ten directions, there is anyone afflicted with suffering, without helper or guardian, I will prescribe for him the medicine of the Great Law and cause all who are ailing to get rid of (their trouble) and to recover, never again to endure misery, able to attain the Way of the Buddha."

The picture shows the Buddha with staff and begging bowl standing. In front of him, a thin man is seated on a rock under a tree, reaching out toward the Buddha's bowl. The Blessed One is probably about to give him medicine.

"The fifth vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, there shall arise a great tide of energy,² that there shall be purity and a general keeping of the precepts, without foulness or wickedness. There shall be careful guarding of what is received, without deficiency or violation. All shall keep the precepts and be firm enough to hold to and not break them and shall attain the way to nirvāṇa."³

The picture shows the Buddha seated crosslegged on 'kuśa' grass under a tree, a fan in his left hand and his shoes before him. To the right is a deer with a floral offering in its mouth. This scene does not seem a good illustration of the text. Perhaps it indicates that even the wild animals will practice the precepts.

"The fourth vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world and attain to Enlightenment, lofty and dignified as the moon among the stars, dissipating the clouds of birth and death, then there shall be nothing hidden, brightness shall shine in the world, travellers shall see the way, those who are hot shall be cool and shall be freed from dust and dirt."

The picture represents an official on horseback, preceded by an attendant on foot about to cross a bridge, over which is coming toward the official a peasant carrying two baskets slung on a pole over his shoulder. The sky is full of stars and constellations and the wind is blowing.

"The first vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world and attain Buddhahood, when my body naturally emits light and universally shines in the Ten Directions, with the Thirty-two Major Marks of perfection and the Eighty Minor Marks, and is naturally majestic, then all beings shall be as I without any difference".

1. The character 'huo' is probably a mistake of the scribe and should be 'k'o', "thirst".

2. Sanskrit, 'vīrya', the technical term for one of the Buddhist virtues, the third of the Seven 'bodhyaṅga', the fourth of the Ten 'pāramitā', the second of the Five 'bala', and the second of the Five 'indriya'.

3. But see Waley, op. cit., page 68, where the fifth vow reads somewhat differently.

The picture shows the Buddha with staff and begging bowl, standing. Before him kneels a personage, perhaps a 'deva'. To the right is a tree.

"The sixth vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, if there are any beings whose roots (of good 'karma') are ruined, then of these people, the blind shall see, the deaf shall hear, the dumb shall speak, the hunchbacked shall be straight, and the lame shall walk, and all who are not complete, shall be made whole".

The picture shows three old men with staves and a woman travelling in a landscape.

"The third vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, knowledge will be widespread like an inexhaustible sea, quickening the withered and the dried up. Of the limitless crowd of beings, all will receive benefit. All shall be full to repletion, without a thought of hunger or thirst; they shall have good food and savoury delicacies. All shall receive support and presents".

The picture shows the Buddha with a staff on the shore of a sea, offering a steaming bowl to a man and a woman.

"The second vow. (I vow that) when I come into the world, my body will be like lapis lazuli, within and without bright and transparent (?), pure without a flaw, of a miraculous colour, large, with a lofty pile of merit, peacefully dwelling in (all) Ten Directions, like the sun lighting the world, solitary and... (?), so that the understanding hidden in the crowd of beings and in all the stupid may open like the dawn".

The Buddha is seated in 'dharma-cakra mudrā' on a lotus in a circle (encircling halo) in mid-air. Below him, in a landscape, is a man bowing to him.

These small pictures are executed with great freedom and skill and are completely Chinese in their feeling for landscape and their treatment of figures and buildings.

The fifty-third group. This is a picture within a picture. Painted on a standing screen, the frame of which is held above in the mouth of a carved (?) lion, is a picture of the Buddha standing on a lotus, his hands in a form of 'dharma-cakra mudrā'. Tendrils form the background. The screen rests on a pedestal or base adorned with two phoenixes. In front are offerings; at the right, a conch; at the left, a lamp with three flames; and in the centre, a bowl containing jewels (?), etc. Nearer the centre on the right, is a dish of lotuses, and nearer the centre on the left, a fungus (?).

The fifty-fourth group. The Three Great Assemblies of Maitreya Buddha. The inscription to the right reads: 'P'eng wei Fa-chieh yu-ching t'ang', i. e., "Offered for the sake of reasonable beings (pudgala) in the world of the Law". The three great preaching assemblies of Maitreya Buddha are pictured in one group with three Buddha figures, each one Maitreya. All three are seated in 'bhadrāsana' (legs pendant, western fashion) on thrones under three pairs of trees and three canopies. Two rays of light issue from the central Maitreya's head. All three are in 'dharma-cakra mudrā', each in a different form: the central Maitreya has his right hand raised, teaching, while the left rests palm inward on his left knee; the Maitreya to the right has his hands in 'dharma-cakra mudrā', the proper right above the left, the two being almost parallel horizontally; and the third Maitreya, to the left, has his right hand raised, preaching, while his left, the fingers of which are also bent in 'dharma-cakra mudrā', rests in his lap. All wear monks' robes, over which the central Maitreya alone wears a 'kāṣāya'. Each is backed by two haloes, both flame-surrounded; and on the top of the one behind the head is a jewel. Each Buddha figure has the 'uṣṇīṣa', the 'ūrṇā' and the "lump of flesh" in the hair above the forehead.

Two monks, an old man corresponding to Kāśyapa (proper left), and (proper right) a young man corresponding to Ānanda, flank the central Buddha. The old monk holds a book, while the young one has his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. Three Bodhisattvas (or devas ?) stand behind each monk. The one to the spectator's right of the old monk holds a book, the one to his left, a 'kuṇḍikā'. Of the corresponding figures on the young monk's side, the one to the left makes a 'mudrā' with his left hand (the only one visible) and the one to the right holds a bottle with flaring lips. To the right and left of the flanking Buddhas, is a red Vajrapāṇi, each with an animal (a white lion ?). Each Vajrapāṇi holds a sword in the hand on the outer side: the one at the spectator's left has his proper left hand clenched and the



one at the spectator's right has his proper right hand extended palm upward, muscles contracted. Behind each are two warriors, probably together constituting the Four Guardian Kings.

In front of the central Maitreya, is an offering table on which are a rock on a lotus stand and two bowls of lotuses. To the right and left of the table, a monk is cutting a novice's hair; these two who are joining the Buddhist order are probably King Sankha and his queen.¹ In front of each of the other two Buddhas, is an offering table on which are three incense burners (?). In the case of the group to the right, three men are seated to the right of the offering table, each wearing a black hat and each holding his hands in 'añjali mudrā'; to the left of the table, are three monks, also seated with their hands in 'añjali mudrā'. On the opposite side of the central Buddha, to the right of the offering table, are seated three monks, two, apparently, with hands in 'añjali mudrā', the third with his hands in 'dhyāna mudrā' (?) under his sleeves; on the other side of the table, are three ladies, all seated with hands in 'añjali mudrā'. The three men with black hats may represent donors and the three ladies may be their wives.

The whole group is on an enormous rock which rises up out of water and against which the spray is dashing. In the centre is a pile of jewels in a hole in the rock. In the 'Maitreya sūtra' (Tokyo edition of the Tripiṭaka, Vol. XIV, p. 423), it is said that in the city of Ketumatī,² treasures were in sight of the people, who nevertheless were without greed. In the foreground, is a stream over which, from a bit of shore in the right foreground toward the big central rock, is flying a phoenix carrying tiny human passengers on his back. From the waters rise (right to left) a Nāga's head, a snake in a conch shell (?) the head of a sea monster (belly side facing the spectator) (?), a large fish apparently swimming toward the left, a pig (or a dog ?), a tortoise and two winged steeds. At the central point of the immediate foreground, between the sea monster and the huge fish, is a blank square. In probable relation to it, are two other forms in outline, one shaped like the crescent moon at the right edge of the picture and to the right of the Vajrapāṇi of that side and another of which the top and bottom lines are parallel, while the sides slope outward, in a corresponding position to the left of the group.

On the shore in the immediate foreground, to the right, are four figures in a house and two outside. Opposite, to the left, is a boat about to land its load of passengers, the boatman standing in the stern, pole in hand. Nearby, in an ell-shaped building with a thatched roof, an official is seated, directing the workmen who are engaged in dismantling King Sankha's Treasure Tower.³ The monk at the upper right hand corner of the picture whose head appears above a rock is probably Kāśyapa. In the 'sūtra',⁴ it is said "Then all the four crowds of beings saw the Grdhrakūṭa Mountain and on the top, the great Kāśyapa". Opposite in the upper left hand corner, is a monk running over flames, a jet of water spurting from his right hand.

The inscription to the left reads: 'Nan-wu San Hui Mi-lo Fo hui', i. e., "Hail to the assembly of Maitreya of the Three Assemblies!"

The next picture shows a pagoda, painted in gold (part of which has come off, showing a beautiful clear red underneath). From it, emerge two different kinds of rays; from the two sides, rays close together, a wavy line alternating with a straight; and from the finial, a series of straight rays, spaced at greater intervals than those of the preceding set. The lower rays curve to form an elliptical halo, while the upper rays form a triangle with its base at the top of the picture. The 'stūpa' rests on a lotus

1. See Waley, op. cit., xxvii and 16-20. If Nanjio is right (I have not the Tripiṭaka available to find out), Waley here makes a mistake. According to the former, the work translated by Dharmarakṣa is called 'Mi-lo P'u-sa so wén pên yüan ching' (Nanjio, 55) and the 'Fo shuo Mi-lo hsia shêng ching' (Nanjio, 205) was translated by Kumārajīva.

2. Where Maitreya is to be born as the son of the Minister of King Sankha.

3. See Waley, op. cit., page 18.

4. The notes which I made in Peiping and from which this description, including the quotation, is taken, unfortunately do not mention the name of the 'sūtra' or give the source of the quotation.

pedestal; its square top, which extends beyond the main part almost to a line drawn from the base of the pedestal, supports a cone-shaped receptacle in the mouth of which stands upright a three-pointed (or possibly five-pointed) 'vajra'.

Above, on clouds, are two groups, the one on the right consisting of three men and two women, and the one opposite, of two men, two women, and a peculiar hairy individual, apparently on all fours. In front of the 'stāpa', is a low octagonal table with steps in front, on which are many ritual vessels surrounding a bowl of lotuses. There are eight circular objects on stands.....mirrors or small drums?....., bowls of lotus flowers and incense burners. To the right of the 'stāpa', are four monks, one with a conch, one with a vase of lotuses, one with cymbals and one with a gong. To the left are three monks, one with a fly-whisk, one with his hands in 'añjali mudrā', and the third holding a rosary (?), together with a boy attendant carrying a large box.

In front, is water from which emerges to the right a 'nāga' king, apparently, against all precedent,¹ with six snakes' heads, holding a sword and attended by a 'nāga' (?) official and a 'nāginī' carrying a bowl of jewels. To the left, is his queen, facing him, with seven snakes' heads, holding a flowering branch and attended by an official and a 'nāga' (with one snake's head above his human one) carrying a vase from which issue rays, and a monster holding a banner. The banner is twice the height of the queen and has long streamers. On the shore behind the 'nāga' with the vase is something which looks like a huge toad. On the shore to the right, behind the 'nāga' king, is a human being, probably representing some real person, an official, wearing a large black hat and holding an incense burner, attended by a boy. The 'nāga' king, his queen, and their attendants are in the water up to their knees.

The inscription to the left reads: 'Shē-li pao t'a', i. e., "The precious pagoda for relics." The 'Pi Tien chu lin' calls it a 'Chin-kang pao t'a', or "Adamantine (vajra) precious pagoda."

The fifty-sixth group. The inscription to the right reads: 'Nan-wu Lang-p'o-ling Fo', i. e., "Adoration to the Buddha Lang-p'o-ling." I have not yet identified this Buddha.

His body is gold in colour and he is dressed in red. He is seated on a lotus throne, his hands in a form of 'dharma-cakra mudrā'. Above is suspended a canopy and curtains are drawn to each side. Flowers fall through the air. To the right is an old monk (corresponding to Kāśyapa) and to the left, a young one (corresponding to Ānanda). In front, is a woman dressed in white with a red necklace, her hands held together within her long sleeves, standing on a gold mat. In the foreground, to the left, a king is seated in 'mahārājallā āsana' on a dais, holding a child. To the right, is a fat ascetic (?) seated on 'kūśa' grass on a rock, holding a fan in his right hand. His boots rest on the ground near the rock. Perhaps these figures represent personages corresponding in the life story of this Buddha (if he is a 'manuṣa' Buddha) to Śuddhodana and the Rṣi Asita in that of Śākyamuni.

The fifty-seventh group. The inscription to the right reads: 'Nan-wu Yü-ch'êng shih-tsun Fo', i. e., "Adoration to the World-honoured Buddha Yü-ch'êng." The characters 'Yü-ch'êng' mean "Leap the wall." The 'Bijutsu kenkyū', No. 15, March, 1933, illustrates (page 87) a piece of sculpture from Hadda, Afghanistan, representing Prince Siddhārtha with a woman sleeping beside him...he himself is seated..., which it labels 'Yü ch'êng ch'u chis', "Leap the wall and leave home (i. e., Become a monk)." It is not certain, of course, that this appellation applied to the Prince who became the Buddha Śākyamuni has any relation to the Buddha in our painting. I simply present it for what it is or may be worth in connection with other evidence which may turn up later on.

1. As a rule, the 'nāgas' and 'nāginīs' are provided each one with a crest of serpents' heads, from one to nine or more, but always of an uneven number. Here, since the queen has seven, it is practically certain that the king was intended to have at least that number, probably nine. Greater numbers usually indicate that the personage possessing them has high rank or a position of importance.

2. A book about the paintings in the Imperial Collection compiled by order of the Emperor Ch'ien-Lung. See bibliography.



The Buddha, larger than the one who precedes him in the long roll, is seated on a lion throne,¹ his hands in a form of 'dharmacakra mudrā', in elaborate red and gold robes. A complicated halo surrounds him, surmounted by a piece of white coral, the whole encircled by gold flames. Above hang a canopy and curtains, while in the background stretches a landscape. In the central foreground, is water; and on the shore to the right, are an ascetic and worshipper. On the left shore, near a willow tree, is a man milking a cow, whose calf is seen nearby.

To the Buddha's proper left, is an old monk (Kāśyapa or a monk corresponding to him) holding a book, and to the right is a young monk (Ānanda or a monk corresponding to him), holding a 'ju-i' sceptre. In front, is seated a monk whose body is gold in colour, with his hands in 'dhyāna mudrā.' He is dressed in a yellow robe and has a halo. In front on a table are placed: in the centre, a large incense burner; to the right, a lamp with a triple flame; and to the left, a bowl containing flowers. On each side is a Bodhisattva holding a large bowl. To the right of the Bodhisattva on that side, is a smaller figure, bearded and wearing a red and gold crown, who holds a book (?). Opposite in the corresponding position on the left, is a ruddy-coloured person, also bearded and crowned, his hands in 'añjali mudrā.' Both men's feet are bare.

The fifty-eighth group. The inscription to the right reads: 'Nan-wu Ta-jih pien chao Fo', i. e., "Adoration to Vairocana, the universally shining Buddha."

Above are a canopy and curtains; and flowers fall through the air. Vairocana Buddha, gold in colour (sic!), his right hand in 'bhūmiṣparśa mudrā' (sic!) in a red robe, sits on a throne. To his proper left is a monk corresponding to Kāśyapa and opposite is Ānanda's counterpart. In front of the throne, is a figure whose flesh is gold in colour, in a white dress, with red ribbons on the sleeves, kneeling facing the spectator on a gold mat, holding above his head a huge, flattish dish (?) containing a white substance on which is a spiral of red. To the right in the foreground, is a layman in white, wearing a white hat and holding a fan in his left hand, seated crosslegged on 'kuśa' grass on a rock, his shoes before him. His right hand is in 'vitarka mudrā'. To the right is a monk in a yellow robe, seated in meditation on a rock, his hands joined (probably in 'dhyāna mudrā') under his robe.

The fifty-ninth group. The inscription to the right contains six words, all of which with the exception of the introductory 'nan-wu' ("Adoration" or "Hail") are illegible.

There are no canopy and no curtains. The Buddha is seated on a white lotus on a low gold dais, his hands in a form of 'dharmacakra mudrā'. He wears a pink transparent robe on which are many designs, including Mt. Sumeru, which has its place on his breast. His dress has a red border. Two haloes encircle him, both with jewel borders and both edged with flames. Above on clouds, are the seven Buddhas of the past and present eras. Below, to the right, is a king (?), kneeling before a table on which are a book and two dishes. The king wears a white robe with a red belt and a red crown with flying streamers and holds a red incense burner in his right hand. Behind him are three attendants, one bearded, wearing a white hat, holding a staff like a shepherd's crook. The others are two boys with bobbed hair, each holding a dish. Facing this group, are the Seven Gems of the Cakravartin.

The sixtieth group. The inscription to the right reads: 'Chien-kuo Kuan-shih-yin t'eng. i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who founded the kingdom, and attendants."

The monk, incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, is seated on a rock. His flesh is gold in colour and he wears a goatee, moustache and side-whiskers. He has on his head a flat hat of gold and black.² His robe was of gold originally, the outer coat has worn off, showing a backing of red underneath, as in the case of the 'stūpa' described above. Behind him is an oval, grey, cloudy halo; and framing his head is a white halo, on top of which is a standing figure of Avalokiteśvara.³ Two boys, looking like female

1. I may remind my readers that Śākyamuni is often so represented.

2. As in the Yamanaka painting.

3. Compare the representation in the Yamanaka painting.

attendants,¹ accompany him. The one to the monk's proper left holds a dragon-headed gold staff in both hands; he wears a white dress, a red girdle, and a scarf over his hair, above two red and gold ornaments. His shoes are red and gold. The other boy holds a rectangular gold mirror in his right hand and extends his left. His dress is the same as that of his companion except that his belt is double. In front, reclining, are an ox, a horse, and an elephant.²

In the immediate foreground to the right, is an inscription which reads: 'Fêng ch'ai shêng Kan-ling-t'ung Ta Wang' i. e., "Conferring the appointment on the Holy Kan-ling-t'ung, the Great King." The king, in an elaborate red robe with gold designs, kneels before a table on which are a book and an ink slab among other things. He wears a black, red and gold crown with intricate adornments. He is immediately attended by one small boy, while to the left is a warrior in white with a red belt, from which depends a scimitar (?) in a sheath. He holds a dagger in his right hand and a standard in his left. Another man, in a white dress with a red belt and a black hat, holds two rolls.

The monk who figures so prominently here as an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara is the same whose story is told in the 'Nan Chao yeh shih'; and, although the name Kan-ling-t'ung is not given in our chronicle, the king is probably no other than Hsi-nu-lo, founder (A. D. 649) of the kingdom of Ta Mêng.³ The 'Nan Chao yeh shih' relates that this monk, who came to Yünnan from India, caused the apparition of the ox, horse and elephant, together with the two boys, to appear to Hsi-nu-lo's wife, to whom he prophesied the accession of Hsi-nu-lo (then a mere farmer) to power and the transmission of the rule to his sons and grandsons for successive generations⁴. It is evident from the inscriptions on the Yamanaka scroll, as well as from the appellation "Founder of the kingdom" given him on the Palace Museum painting, that he played no inconsiderable role not only in the development of Buddhism in the country but also in the political sphere. For the Chinese text and translation of the inscriptions on the Yamanaka scroll, see the Appendix.

The sixty-first group. The inscription to the left of this panel evidently applies to the Avalokiteśvara of the following (62nd) group, leaving this section without a label. Avalokiteśvara, whose body is gold in colour, is seated crosslegged on a white lotus. He has the 'ūrpā' on his forehead. He wears a red skirt and red scarves, red and gold jewellery...bracelets, necklace, earrings, etc....and a red and gold crown, in which there is no 'dhyāni' Buddha. His double halo is black and white, edged with flame. He holds a lotus-shaped dish in his left hand and a lotus (?) in his right. In front is an incense burner, from which issue flames. To the right is an 'apsaras' with flying white scarves, holding a dish of lotus flowers. To the left is another 'apsaras' holding an incense burner. Both are seated at ease on lotuses. In the foreground, to the right, is a monk seated on a mat on a rock, his sandals before him. He wears a white robe with a hood. To the left, is a monk in white with a white scarf in both hands; near him are a gentle-faced human figure with wings entirely in the manner of a Western angel, and two creatures half bird and half human (garuḍa). All, including the monk, who is taller than the others, are standing.

The sixty-second group. Avalokiteśvara, Saviour from the (Eight) Difficulties (or Perils). The inscription (in the extreme upper left of the preceding picture) reads: P'u-mên p'in Kuan-shih-yin

1. But see the 'Nan chao yeh shih'—NOYS-Ch, 'chuan' 1, page 9 a; NOYS-Fr, page 32.

2. NOYS-Ch, 'chuan' 1, page 9 a; NOYS-Fr, page 32.

3. NOYS-Ch, 'chuan' 1, pages 8b-10a; NOYS-Fr, pages 31-35.

4. M. Sainson...NOYS-Fr, pages 32-3...has translated merely, "Vos descendants se succéderont les uns les autres," but the phrase 'i yeh' is used to mean a succession of rulers (see Tsang, 'A complete Chinese-English dictionary', 7th edition, page 197; and the context makes it certain that this is the proper meaning here. Hsi-nu-lo's descendants reigned over Ta Mêng and Nan Chao, as the enlarged kingdom was called after 728, until 902, a period of more than 250 years.



ting, i. e., "The Avalokiteśvara of the Śamantamukha Section."¹ Avalokiteśvara holds the seat of honour in the central one of the three sections which make up the picture. He sits on a lotus, his right foot pendant on a lotus, while another empty lotus is ready for his other foot, should he wish to change position. The main lotus and the two subsidiary ones issue from one stalk which rises from the midst of water surrounded by decorative white clouds. The divinity wears a red and white striped skirt, over which is draped a maroon-coloured scarf. He is adorned with a gold necklace, with gold bracelets of considerable width high up on his arms, with a gold girdle and with a kind of jewelled apron. He has a single, large, empty halo, slightly bluish in color, from the top of which issue blue rays in groups of three. Above, is a canopy composed of red and magenta lotuses from which hang jewelled chains.

The same mountain landscape extends throughout all three sections and the same stream flows through them, with shores to front and back. In front of the central figure of Avalokiteśvara is a snake issuing from a conch shell on the surface of the water, which ripples around it. To the left, a sea-monster's head emerges from the waves, vomiting volumes of water. Nearby on the shore, are a wheel surrounded by flames and a tripartite jewel, also surrounded by flames. On the other side, somewhat further in the background than the monster just described, is another similar one. To the right is a cloud. Opposite, on the other side, in the third section, is an amoeba-like figure on the surface of the water. On the shore in the immediate foreground, to the right in the central section, walking side by side, are a monk in magenta robes holding an incense burner and a woman, hands in 'añjali mudrā', dressed in red and white.

A small inscription to the spectator's right reads: Ch'u yüan, pao Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who averts the punishments caused by evil thoughts and actions." Avalokiteśvara, much smaller than the central figure,—of which it is not a replica,—dressed in flowing robes, is shown walking, lotuses growing from each footstep. He holds a willow branch in his right hand and a flask in his left. On the other side of the mountain, are two men, one on the edge of a precipice, with his hands in 'añjali mudrā', and the other behind him, with hands upraised—about to push him off. This is no doubt the peril of being pushed off mountains, either the Vajra Mountains or Mount Sumeru.²

Slightly lower to the left, appears the inscription: Ch'u shui nan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who averts perils on the water." A boat is seen, in which are three men, one paddling. On the

1. A chapter of the 'Saddharma puṇḍarīka sūtra', the 24th in the version translated from the Sanskrit by Kern, S. B. E., Vol. XXI, the 25th in the Chinese version translated by Kumārajīva, Nanjio, No. 134; Takakusu, Vol. IX, p. 1. This chapter tells of the various perils and difficulties from which Avalokiteśvara saves those who call upon his name. For descriptions of paintings from Tun-huang on this subject, see Waley, op. cit., pp. 4, 38, 45, and 150, with the pages following in each case. Mr. Waley's statement, p. 151, that the category of 'eight' difficulties from which Avalokiteśvara saves "appears to be quite unknown" in China and Japan, needs modification in view of the painting under discussion. Waley, loc. cit., gives a list of seven perils, as defined by the commentaries on the 'sūtra'. As he points out, however, the perils as actually represented in painting and sculpture are very different from those described in the 'sūtra', even from those described in the verse portion. He mentions two representations of this subject, in each of which there are eight scenes, though "it is by no means clear that there are more than seven perils". It seems to me that, once sculptors, as in the Kapherl Cave representation (Coomaraswamy, 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art' Plate XLIII), probably swerving to the exigencies of space, had made eight scenes illustrating seven perils, it would follow as the night the day that the spectators, pious lay men and women, no doubt, would soon be talking of the "Eight Perils". In any case, the "Eight Perils" came to be a 'part of the iconographical law, written or unwritten'. That one is included in another, as, for example, the peril from elephants in the peril from wild beasts is merely incidental.

2. See Waley, op. cit., page 5.

shore nearby, Avalokiteśvara rides a cloud, seated in 'mahārājalīlā āsana', holding a lotus in his right hand and a flask in his left. Not far away is a heap of coral from which issue rays.

Slightly lower to the spectator's left, appears the inscription: (the 'Chu lin' incorrectly has 'chung', "crowd") Ch'u hsiang nan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who saves from the peril of elephants." Avalokiteśvara is standing, with a willow branch in his right hand and a flask in his left. To the right is a man in pink robes and in front of the divinity is a black elephant, half kneeling, his trunk raised.

In the foreground to the left (still in the right section of the picture) is another small Avalokiteśvara walking, lotuses springing up wherever he steps. He holds a bowl in his left hand and a willow branch in his right. He is shown in three-quarters view, looking towards the centre. Before him kneels a man in a light yellow robe with a red belt; and still nearer the centre is a serpent. The inscription, which is to the left, reads: Ch'u shē nan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who saves from the peril of snakes."

In the third section, to the left, Avalokiteśvara is seen above to the right, sitting on a cloud, at the foot of tall mountains. He holds a willow branch in his right hand and a fruit (?) in his left. In front, a devotee, dressed in magenta, is bowing before him, his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. He is evidently rendering thanks for his rescue from a wild animal, spotted black and white, which is shown behind him. The inscription reads: Ch'u shou nan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who saves from the peril of wild beasts."

In the upper left hand corner of the section, and of the group, stands Avalokiteśvara, holding a willow branch in his right hand and a flask in his left. In front of him are travellers with full bags and a laden horse coming safely through a mountain pass. Behind them at the top of the pass, are several robbers, armed with spears and bows and arrows, from whose attack Avalokiteśvara has saved the travellers. The inscription at the upper left is cut off.

In the water in the middle foreground, are seen a flaming jewel and two horses, one of which is winged. Below to the left, on the near shore just at the edge of the water, stands Avalokiteśvara, with a rosary held in both hands. He is seen in three-quarters view, his back to the water, facing towards a 'yamén' (official building). In the lower left-hand corner, partly cut off, is the 'yamén', in the door of which is seated an official, before whom an attendant brings an accused person. This scene represents the danger of the police and the courts, as doubtless the inscription, which is cut off, explained.

Slightly to the right, is Avalokiteśvara walking, lotuses springing from his footprints. He carries a willow branch in his right hand and a lamp (?) in his left. Before him, a man in an orange robe is running towards him from pursuing flames. The inscription to the right reads: Ch'u hua nan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who saves from the peril of fire."

The eight subsidiary figures of Avalokiteśvara, each of which is associated with one of the Eight Perils, are all much smaller than the central and main figure of the same divinity and are all dressed in flowing robes, in contrast to the abbreviated costume in Indian style of the chief image. Each of the small figures has a round halo edged with flames behind his head.

The sixty-third group. The inscription in the upper right hand corner reads: Nan-wu hsün shēng ch'u ku Kuan-shih-yin tēng, i. e., "Adoration to Avalokiteśvara who seeks the sound and saves from suffering." 'Hsün-shēng' is probably another way of rendering what was mistakenly supposed to be the meaning of the name Avalokiteśvara, the usual translation of which also occurs in this inscription, to wit, 'Kuan-shih-yin', i. e. "Looking on the world sounds." The 'śvara' in 'Avalokiteśvara', instead of being understood as 'īśvara', "Lord", which is its derivation, was thought to come from 'śvara', "sound".

Avalokiteśvara, large in size, rides over waves on a lotus petal, on which he is standing, trailing a pale blue cloud behind, to the right of which are magenta clouds. He is dressed in a yellow under-robe with a red-figured border at the top, which shows through his over-robe of net. This outer robe has a yellow border with designs in red. A wide scarf of pale magenta hangs over his right arm and another pale yellow scarf streams out. His right hand holds a rosary and his left hand rests on the top of his right



wrist. He wears a gold necklace, earrings, and an elaborate gold head-dress in which is his 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha.

Some parts seem to be missing here.

The sixty-fourth group. Avalokiteśvara, with six arms and three heads, each with a third eye, is standing. In his crown is the 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha. He carries in his proper left hands, the lotus, the bow and the rosary; his upper right hand is in 'abhaya mudrā' and in the other two, he carries an ascending cloud and an arrow. An antelope skin is thrown over his left shoulder. He wears anklets, bracelets on his upper and fore arms, a long chain around his neck with pendants hanging over his arms, and a jewelled apron over his hips. He wears also a scarf. His long hair flows over his shoulders. He stands on a lotus which rests on a dark magenta cloud, which in turn issues from the mouth of a tortoise. The tortoise is swimming or floating on the surface of an expanse of water. To the right, rises a small white cloud on which is a conch shell; to the left is a similar cloud bearing a dish of lotuses. Avalokiteśvara has a small colourless halo with projections somewhat resembling the "fingers" of the fruit called 'Fo shou', or "Buddha's hand". Above is a white lotus canopy garlanded. To both right and left of Avalokiteśvara is a trident around which twines a snake. Two small boys stand, one on each side, each holding a disc, possibly representing the sun and moon.

To the left is an inscription which reads: Nan-wu pai-shui-ching Kuanyin (the 'Chu lin' has Kuan-shih-yin), i. e., "Adoration to Avalokiteśvara, the essence of plain water."¹ This inscription may or may not refer to the figure just described. Between this section and the one following, some parts are evidently missing.

The sixty-third group. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. The divinity stands under a pink lotus canopy, from which hang garlands. Besides the usual forty arms with attributes, there is a forty-first emerging from the top of Avalokiteśvara's head, which holds in the palm a seated figure of Amitābha Buddha. In the head-dress of the Bodhisattva is another figure of Amitābha, this time standing, a posture which violates the 'sādhana' rules for 'dhyāni' Buddhas.² Each one of the forty-one hands has an eye in the palm. The attributes held and the 'mudrās' formed are as follows:

Proper left:

Outer hands: 1. The sun, containing a crow 2. A Buddha 3. A long, unidentified object³ 4. A sword 5. An 'utpala' (blue lotus)? 6. A hatchet 7. A stick from which hangs an unidentified object 8. A shield 9. A tripartite 'cintāmaṇi' (wish-granting gem) 10. Two lotuses 11. A conch 12. A willow spray (?) 13. A lasso.

Inner hands: 14. A wheel 15. A 'ghaṇṭā' (bell) 16. A round mirror 17. A lighted candle 18. Makes 'añjali mudrā' with the 18th right hand 19. A long weapon 20. A bow.

Proper right:

Outer hands: 1. The moon, containing the cassia tree and the rabbit (or the toad?) 2. A palace 3. A flute 4. A monk's staff 5. A willow spray (?) 6. A 'vajra' (single-pointed) 7. A stick with a skull suspended from it 8. A bowl 9. A lotus 10. An ewer⁴ 11. Makes 'abhaya mudrā' 12. A basket of fruit (?) or candy (?) 13. A rosary.

Inner hands: 14. A lotus 15. A 'vajra' (five-pointed) 16. A rectangular mirror 17. A spray of leaves 18. Makes 'añjali mudrā' with the 18th left hand 19. A long trident 20. An arrow.

1. This phrase, 'pai-shui-ching', "essence of plain water," may be a translation (or possibly even a transliteration) of a special form of Avalokiteśvara.

2. Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Buddhist iconography', page 2.

3. Possibly, a 'sātra' written on palm leaves.

4. In the Shosoin Collection in Nara, is a Chinese T'ang dynasty ewer of the same shape, made of lacquer and bearing a design in silver (No. 43 in the Northern section; illustrated in the abridged catalogue, page 9). Ewers of this shape are used today by the Lamas of Tibet.

Avalokiteśvara has three haloes, the two inner ones flame-ringed. The outer one, which is, of course, the largest, does not extend below the knees, but reaches high above the head, the neck or shoulders of the divinity being about the centre of the circle forming the halo. All three haloes are plain, without any suggestion of the thousand arms or hands which often form the haloes of Sahasrabhujasahasranetra Avalokiteśvara. The divinity wears a red-pink skirt with a white scarf around the waist, which hangs down over the skirt; and he is adorned with jewelry.....anklets, bracelets, jewelled collar, gold chains hanging over his skirt, etc. He stands on a white lotus, with magenta-tipped petals.

To the right is a small figure of a man with a black hat, holding in his mouth and with both hands a red bag which is open, showing a pile of things inside. Opposite, a small man, naked except for a loincloth, holds out empty hands to Avalokiteśvara. Compare the corresponding figures in the Tun-huang painting, No. XXXV in Waley's Catalogue, p. 54 ff: inscriptions (6) right and (6) left, illustrated in 'Serindia', Plate LXIII, and in 'Thousand Buddhas', Plate XVII. To the right, nearer the foreground, is a fierce divinity, probably Vajrayakṣa. He is three-headed and four-armed. His proper left upper hand holds a trident, his corresponding right hand holds a hatchet, and the other two make 'mudrā' separately. Attending him, but facing from him towards the centre, is Vajrākūṣa, a small swine-headed individual, kneeling. The fierce divinity opposite, probably Kuṇḍali Vidyārāja, has one head, with what appear to be snakes in his hair, and six arms. In his upper proper left hand, he holds a wheel; with his middle proper left, he makes a 'mudrā'; and the third proper left is crossed in front with the corresponding right hand. The upper proper right hand makes a 'mudrā'; the middle holds a one-pointed 'vajra'; and the third is crossed in front with the corresponding left hand. Kuṇḍali Vidyārāja is attended by Vināyaka (Gapeśa), a small 'deva' king with a white elephant's head, who kneels facing Vajrākūṣa, to whom he is pendant.

The sixty-fourth group. Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1). The divinity is shown seated on a lotus in 'lalita āsana', with the right foot pendant resting on a smaller red lotus. He is within a kind of pavilion with roof and pillars, elaborately decorated; from the roof hang curtains, ribbons and two cords tied in knots and adorned with jewels. The lotus stalk which bears the flower supporting Amoghapāśa rises from a pond full of pink and white lotuses. The 'nāga' kings Nanda and Upananda, each with three serpent heads, half emerge from the pool, each resting a hand on the lotus stalk. Each is accompanied by a 'nāginī' with one serpent head above her human one. Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara is mild of countenance. He wears an elaborate gold crown, in which there is no 'dhyāni' Buddha, and is adorned with jewelry, necklaces, bracelets, apron, and earrings, which are not alike in the two ears.¹ He has the 'ūrṇā' on his forehead. He wears an orange skirt over which is draped a white scarf; his upper garment shows pink at the folds. The oval halo behind his head is plain, but the larger one, encircling his body from the lotus seat upward, is edged with flames. Within this latter aureole, are small Buddha figures representing the Seven Buddhas of the Past and Present.²

Amoghapāśa Avalokiteśvara holds attributes and makes 'mudrās' as follows:

- Proper Left: 1. A lotus on which rests the 'Prajñāpāramitā sūtra'. 2. A hatchet-like weapon.
3. A trident. 4. A lasso.
Proper Right: 1. A five-pointed 'vajra'. 2. A wheel, similar to that carried by Cintāmaṇi-cakra.³
3. A tripartite jewel. 4. A sword.

On each side of the lotus pond, is a vase with flowers. These two additional symbols of abundance

1. Different earrings, one a man's, the other a woman's, are characteristic of the Hindu divinity Śiva, especially in his form of Ardhanārīśvara, and signify his dual nature, since his "half is Umā."

2. These 'manuṣa' Buddhas are: Vipāśyi, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, and Śākyasiṃha.

3. I. e., the wheel is not a flat one and it has an axis. The hand of Amoghapāśa holds this axis by the thumb and middle finger, and the wheel appears foreshortened.



emphasize the meaning of the lotus pond from which emerges the big lotus bearing Amoghapaśa Avalokiteśvara. Amoghapaśa is here conceived as the giver of all desirable things. He is primarily, of course, one "who throws the rope not in vain," i. e., he is a fisher of souls or, in the words of Francis Thompson, the Hound of Heaven.

In the immediate foreground, are the Seven Gems of the Cakravartin. It would seem that the Minister is missing, his place being taken by a figure larger than that of the General, of a woman holding a jewel who much resembles Śrī Mahādevī.

There is no inscription.

The sixty-fifth group. A form of Avalokiteśvara. An eight-armed, single-headed divinity is standing on a pale maroon lotus, surrounded by a large, oval halo, coloured blue. At the rim are white lotus petals, facing inward; and outside these is a conventional flower border, the whole edged with red flames. Avalokiteśvara wears a dull purplish-red skirt with white scarves, and is adorned with jewelry—gold anklets, bracelets on upper and lower arms (those on the upper of the two normal arms have bright red ribbon hangings), earrings and headdress, in which there is no 'dhyāni' Buddha. Above are white clouds, from which hang gold and red garlands.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' made are as follows:

Proper left: 1. A forked stick. 2. A red lotus. 3. A flask. 4. Makes a 'mudrā'.

Proper right: 1. Makes a 'mudrā'. 2. A green palm (?) 3. Makes a 'mudrā'. 4. Makes a 'mudrā'.

In front, to the right, is a tusked demon, red in colour, with four arms. His two main wrists are crossed, the hands each in a 'mudrā'; the other proper left hand holds a lasso and the other proper right one, a mace. To the left is a pale grey demon with a bird's beak and red hair. In the immediate foreground, are five offerings: in the centre, a gold dish containing jewels; next left, a gold dish of flowers and a conch shell; and to the right, a gold dish containing something white (rice?) and an openwork incense burner (?) of gold.

An inscription occurs on the extreme right of the section to the left of this group, which may not refer to the Avalokiteśvara just described. The inscription reads: Chiu-chu-chi-ping Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara who saves from the various diseases."

The sixty-sixth group. A form of Avalokiteśvara. The divinity, four-handed and single-headed, on whose flesh are traces of green, is seated in 'lalita āsana' on a pale maroon lotus, his right foot pendant, resting on a small white lotus, while a small red lotus is ready for his left foot. The two small lotus stalks branch from the big one which emerges from water; other leaves and flowers are visible.

Avalokiteśvara wears a red skirt, a white scarf and pink girdle, over which is a girdle of gold. An orange and red scarf hangs over both shoulders, while a maroon scarf adorns the proper left shoulder only. He has an elaborate gold crown, in which is a seated 'dhyāni' Buddha, and all the royal jewelry, gold earrings, necklace, bracelets on both upper and lower arms (the former with red hangings) and anklets.

His hands hold:

Proper left: 1. A hatchet. 2. A lasso (index finger raised, hand in front of body).

Proper right: 1. A willow spray. 2. An unidentified object (hand extended, palm outward).

The inner halo is oval in shape and red in colour; the outer halo is pale blue. Within the outer halo, are the Buddhas of the Ten Directions, each in a red robe; the halo has a red and gold border, edged with red and gold flame. Above, in the flames, are three (?) Buddhas, the central one larger than the others. In the foreground are four 'apsaras'. The one to the right holds a harp shaped like a bow; the one to the left holds a flower garland (?). All step on lotuses. Above are two flying 'apsaras' with red scarves.

The inscription at the extreme right of the section to the left reads: Shē-fu-li Fo mu, i. e., "Shē-fu-li, Buddha's Mother". This inscription very likely refers to some image other than the one just described, which seems to be masculine. However, it seems clear from this inscription that a feminine

form of Avalokiteśvara, an Avalokiteśvari, was included among the different forms of this divinity. We do not find here the later Kuanyin, a female transformation, completely Sinicized, of Avalokiteśvara, whose images in all mediums recur so often from Ming times to the present day. The term "Buddha's Mother," of course, does not refer to Śākyamuni's earthly mother, Māyā,¹ but is used for Dharma, the Law, or Prajñā, wisdom, either figuratively, or conceived of as a feminine divinity, a personification of the Law or of Wisdom. Sometimes this title is added to the name of a feminine Tantric divinity, for example, to that of Mahā Mayūrī. This is evidently a similar case. I have not yet identified this divinity. She is not given in the 'Mikkyō daijiten'.

The sixty-seventh group. The central figure, a form of Avalokiteśvara, is three-headed, of a pale flesh colour, his proper left face grey and his proper right, of a deeper flesh tone. Fangs extend over the lower lip on the two side faces, and each face has three eyes. The divinity stands on a maroon lotus. His necklace and bracelets, on both upper and lower arms, are snakes, some dark crimson, others blue. A yellow cloth is draped over his left shoulder; on it, is a crimson snake. He wears a pink skirt, gold anklets and knee-trimmings, a tigerskin girdle, over which is a girdle of gold, and a red scarf with a design in crimson. In the background is a rocky landscape. Above the divinity hangs a maroon flower canopy. Just above the small, pale green oval halo, the standing figures of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions are seen, each in a red robe.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows:

Proper left: 1. A lasso 2. A bow 3. A maroon-coloured lotus.

Proper right: 1. An arrow 2. A rosary 3. 'Varada mudrā'.

Below is a pool with a rocky shore. In the centre is a conch shell, with a fish's head to each side. Between the head and the conch to right and left, are three unidentified objects issuing from the water. The association of the fish and the conch shell occurs in the Yamanaka scroll, also painted in Yünnan (see *infra*).

The inscription to the left reads: (the character 'chia' is omitted here) P'u-t'o-lo-(chia) Shan Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara of Mount Potalaka".²

The sixty-eighth group. Avalokiteśvara, who is of a normal flesh colour, stands on two pale blue lotuses. He holds a willow branch in his proper right hand and a flask in his left. He has a red-gold beaddress without any 'dhyāni' Buddha. He wears a dull orange skirt, a green-gray overskirt, a pale maroon girdle, with red-gold bracelets, necklace and earrings. He has the 'ūrṇā', and also a moustache and goatee. His halo is pale blue, edged with flame. All the colours are faded and worn. Above are seen a pagoda and the roofs of two temples rising from a mass of shaded maroon clouds. Avalokiteśvara is standing by the shore. Rocks are seen toward the upper left. In the foreground to the right, is a large glass bowl containing peonies (?). The inscription to the left reads: Nan-wu ku chüeh hai an Kuan-shih-yin, i. e., "Adoration to Avalokiteśvara, the solitary crosser of the seashore." This figure suggests the monk (incarnation of Avalokiteśvara) in the Yünnanese scroll formerly owned by Yamanaka and Company, and the inscription possibly refers to his trip across the sea from India to Yünnan.

1. This name is also significant, as Dr. Coomaraswamy has pointed out; see his 'Elements of Buddhist iconography', page 23, and note 48, page 73.

2. The preceding figure is entirely unlike all the representations of the Avalokiteśvara (or, one had better say here, Kuanyin) of Mount Potalaka known to the writer. In the temples of P'u-t'o Shan off the coast of Ningpo, the images are of a gracious feminine divinity, often called Nan-hai Kuanyin, or "Kuanyin of the Southern Seas." Potalaka is in Southern India and the Chinese Potalaka (P'u-t'o Shan) is also in the South. The Tibetan author of the 'Śambālai lam yig' puts Potalaka in the sea south of Ceylon. See the translation by Grünwedel, 'Der Weg nach Śambhala', 'Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse', XXIX Band, 3. Abhandlung, page 25.


The sixty-ninth group. Avalokiteśvara, very like a piece of sculpture, stands in a large, circular halo, pale blue, with a narrow gold rim. Under his feet is a lotus, the top of which is yellow, with grey petals, resting on the waves of the sea. Above the halo, whirl maroon clouds. On the shore to the right, is a female figure in a white robe holding a red book, and to the left is another, holding a scarf. In the foreground, two men are at work making sculpture. To the right is a dark-skinned man (possibly an Indian sculptor of Buddhist images imported to Yunnan) with a huge piece of wood and a hatchet (?). To the left is a pale-skinned man in a white robe, holding an almost finished small sculptured image of Avalokiteśvara in his hands. Nearby are a dish from which issue flames, scissors, hammer, a bowl, a bag and a basket of charcoal. This scene should be compared to that depicted in the Yamanaka scroll in which the old man manifested by the beating of the drum carves an image of the same divinity.¹

Avalokiteśvara wears a red skirt, the folds of which are tinged with gold. His flesh is gold in colour, and he is naked above the waist except for jewelry. His headdress, in which there is no 'dhyāni' Buddha, is a complicated red and gold affair.

The inscription to the left reads: Chên-shên Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, whose body is truth."

The seventieth group. Avalokiteśvara, whose flesh is gold in colour, stands on a grey lotus resting on a dragon pedestal. Two elaborate haloes in black and white, with the central part gold, back the divinity. Above is a canopy of three lotuses in black and white with hanging garlands of gold and red. Avalokiteśvara wears an elaborate red robe with gold folds, and is adorned with jewelry and a long red scarf. In his red and gold headdress, is a seated 'dhyāni' Buddha (Amitābha). He has four attendants: to the proper left, a Bodhisattva (or 'deva'?) holding a fan in his right hand; to the right, another holding a 'ju-i' sceptre. In the immediate foreground to the right, is a 'nāgin' seated Western fashion on her coils. She has a crest of innumerable serpent heads. To the left is a warrior.

The inscription to the left reads: I-chang Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa, i. e., "I-chang (easily excelling?) Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva." I have not yet identified this form of Avalokiteśvara.

The seventy-first group. Avalokiteśvara stands in a mountain landscape, above which are clouds in a blue sky, his feet on a grey lotus. He holds a willow spray in his proper right hand and a flask in his left. His outer halo, which resembles a stone stela in shape, is gold in colour, and his inner halo is grey. His flesh is gold. He wears a red robe and scarf; the folds are done in gold. To the right is a group of three figures, two attendants with chignons and an elaborately dressed individual holding a rosary in his left hand; on his robe, is the mark  which is one of the symbols worn by the Chinese Emperor (see

supra). To the left is another group of three, two attendants like those opposite, and a personage in gorgeous robes with a dragon design, holding a fan in his right hand. Since the dragon is also an Imperial symbol, we may infer that these lords are two of the rulers of Yunnan. In the foreground is water with rocks to right and left and at the edge of the picture nearest the spectator. In the water, are two snakes with their tails and necks intertwined to form a circle; to the right is a conch shell and to the left, a fish with a wheel on its head. This same group of symbols is found at the end of the Yunnanese scroll formerly owned by Yamanaka and Company.

The inscription to the left of the same panel reads: Ch'in-ku Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa, i. e., "Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva who saves from suffering."

The seventy-second group. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. The divinity is shown seated in the 'vajrasana' posture on a lotus throne done in black outline, supported by a cloud pedestal done in

1. If my memory serves me correctly the image here is of the same type as that in the Yamanaka painting, (examples of which are to be found in museums, one is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), where they are generally attributed to the country of Laos. The evidence of these two paintings would seem to indicate that the style was also (or perhaps instead) current in Yunnan.

the same way. He has the regular number of forty arms and two others besides, which are raised behind the innermost halo and hold up the figure of Amitābha Buddha, dressed in a red robe. Above, an elaborate canopy hangs in mid-air; a large flame-encircled jewel is at the top and a smaller one decorates each of the four visible up-turned points of the (probably octagonal) roof of the canopy. From the end points right and left, depend decorated chains; and three similar chains are festooned over the longer part of a double curtain which hangs from the base of the canopy. The outer round halo of the divinity is white with a narrow gold rim; it takes in the lotus but not the cloud pedestal. The second halo is also white, and is edged with white flames; the third and innermost, which backs the head, is red and has no flames. The elaborate headdress of Avalokiteśvara contains a standing figure of the 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha. Avalokiteśvara, whose body is gold in colour, wears a pale pink skirt, showing red at the folds, and over it a red scarf with gold folds. He is naked above the waist except for jewelry and for two streamers of black hair, which extend over his shoulders to the elbow. His jewelry consists of anklets and bracelets on both upper and lower arms, necklace and earrings.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows:

Proper left:

Outer hands: 1. The sun (a disc with a crow in it) 2. A spear. 3. A skull on a stick 4. A conch shell from which emerges a cloud, half-concealing a snake 5. A trident 6. A pole from which hangs an unidentified object 7. A book 8. A weapon 9. A bowl 10. A lotus 11. A lasso 12. 'Varadā mudrā'.

Inner hands: 13. A 'vajra' (single-pointed) 14. A Buddha 15. A jewel 16. A flask 17. A bow 18. A lotus 19. Makes 'añjali mudrā' with the 19th right hand 20. Makes a 'mudrā' (a form of 'dharma-cakra mudrā')

Proper right:

Outer hands: 1. The moon (a disc containing the cassia tree and the rabbit (?)) 2. A book 3. A sword 4. A palace 5. A banner (?) 6. A shield 7. A box (?) 8. A hatchet 9. A wheel 10. A lotus 11. A flower or fruit spray 12. A jewel (?)

Inner hands: 13. A 'vajra' (probably five-pointed) 14. A drum 15. A conch 16. A willow branch 17. 'Vitaraka mudrā' 18. A lotus 19. Makes 'añjali mudrā' with the 19th left hand 20. A 'hu' ('shaku') (?)

To the proper left stands Vasu Ṛṣi, with a staff like a shepherd's crook in his left hand, his right upraised to his forehead. He wears a white robe and, contrary to iconographical rules,¹ gold and red jewelry. To the proper right is Mahādevī, holding a lotus. She wears a white robe and is decked out with a red and gold crown and a jewelled collar. In the foreground is a king (?),² his hands in 'añjali mudrā'; his skirt is much worn and shows underneath a fierce, red divinity, eight-armed, whose face and torso are hidden by the king, but whose arms are visible to each side. In spite of the evident fact that the king was painted afterward over the "Terrible one," this latter figure seems to be partially repainted. He is surrounded by flames done in black without a trace of colour. In his upper proper left hand, he holds a lasso (?); in the second, a single-pointed 'vajra'; the third apparently rests on his left leg, which is in a cross-legged position, while the right one is somewhat extended; the fourth and inner hand, hidden by the drawing of the king, probably made a 'mudrā' with the corresponding hand on the other side. The upper right hand holds a three-pronged 'vajra'; the second holds a rosary; the third makes a 'mudrā'; and the inner fourth is hidden under the robes of the king. Attendant on this fierce divinity, are two warriors of human shape, the one on the divinity's proper left having a pig's head over his own, and the one opposite having an elephant's head over his human one. These figures are probably intended for the same personages we

1. But compare the Vasu Ṛṣi in the lower part of a fresco painting of the 'maṇḍala' of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara brought from Chotscho and now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, illustrated in 'Chotscho', Tafel 32. Vasu Ṛṣi is here even more unlike what he is supposed to be than he is in the long roll. For a discussion of the meaning of the juxtaposition of Vasu Ṛṣi and Śrī Mahādevī, see Chapin, 'A study in Buddhist iconography', Part II.

2. Probably one of the rulers or princelets of Yünnan.



have seen elsewhere conceived somewhat differently, the one with the head of an elephant on a human body (*Vināyaka*) and the other with the head of a pig on a human body (*Vajrākūṣa*).

The inscription to the left of the same panel reads : Ts-pei Kuan-shih-yin P'u-sa, i. e., "Mahākaraṇa (the Great Compassionate) Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva."

The seventy-third group. *Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara*, or the Eleven-headed *Avalokiteśvara*. (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1). Above, among clouds, are two groups of weather gods. On the right is the rain dragon, done in monochrome ; on the left are the thunder demon (*Lei shên* or *Lei Kung*) with a circle of drums round his head, the wind god (*Fêng Shên* or *Fêng Po*) and the lightning goddess (*Lieh-chüeh mu* (?)). The thunder demon has a pig's head and bat's wings ; he holds a double drumstick in his right hand and a single one (?) in his left. The wind god is an old man ; and he holds a bag made of a tiger's skin. The lady in the group may be a rain goddess, since she holds a willow branch in her right hand and a huge jar in her left.

Below, without any canopy, is the eleven-headed and sixteen-armed *Avalokiteśvara*, seated in 'vajrasana' on a grey lotus, which rests on a square throne, over which an opened scroll hangs in front. There is nothing written on the scroll and it and the throne are done in outline without colour. *Avalokiteśvara* has two elaborate haloes, each with a conventional flower border and flames, also uncoloured. Above the first tier of three heads, each with a third eye, he wears a crown, in which there is no 'dhyāni' Buddha. The topmost head is a usual that of *Amitābha*. The other ten probably indicate the Ten Directions and illustrate *Avalokiteśvara's* epithet of *Samantamukha* ("facing everywhere"). The divinity wears a pink skirt, showing red at the folds ; over it is a red scarf, gold at the folds. Another red scarf is draped over his shoulders. He is adorned with all the royal jewelry, earrings, bracelets, necklace, etc. His hair hangs over his shoulders.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows :

Proper left

Outer hands : 1. A lamp balanced on a stick (?) 2. Two and three together make a 'mudrā' and hold a lotus 3. Two and three together make a 'mudrā' and hold a lotus 4. A conch 5. Makes 'mudrā'.

Inner hands : 6. A dish 7. Makes a 'mudrā' with the 7th right hand ('añjali mudrā' ?) 8. Makes a form of the 'dhyāna mudrā' (thumbs joined) with the 8th right hand.

Proper right

Outer hands : 1. A three-pronged 'vajra' (balanced on the index finger) 2. A long unidentified object, half-hidden behind the sword 3. A sword (the second and third hands are much closer together than the others, as is also the case on the left side) 4. A flask 5. 'Varada mudrā'

Inner hands : 6. A spray of flowers 7. Makes a 'mudrā' with the 7th left hand 8. Makes 'dhyāna mudrā' with the 8th left hand.

There are three registers of attendants, all dressed in Chinese or Yünnanese fashion ; those in the first register, however, are distinguished from the others by the clouds on which they ride. To the right are two ladies, each holding a torch ; they are dressed in long, flowing robes and wear tiaras. To the left are two men and a boy ; one of the men is heavily bearded, while the other has a smooth face. Each holds a 'hu'. The boy holds a drum, of a type which seems to be peculiar to Yünnan ; compare the example in the Yünnanese scroll formerly owned by Yamanaka and Company. All three are dressed in flowing robes, and the men wear small hats ; that worn by the bearded man has lobes like lotus petals and is of the same kind as some of the hats in the Tun-huang paintings.

The next two registers are of great interest, since the personages represented are without doubt historic characters. Each one has a label ; but, unfortunately, very few of the inscriptions are at all legible. In the first of these two registers, to the right, are three men, hands in 'añjali mudrā' dressed in white, each wearing a large black hat with streamers. This style of hat is perhaps peculiar to Yünnan. The label accompanying the innermost figure is the only one which is at all legible. It reads : (?) Ch'êng (?) Ch'êng (?) p'ing (?) ko (?) ?? I have not yet been able to establish the identity of this figure. Nearer the centre, toward which he faces, is a bareheaded young man, with his hair in a topknot,

his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. The accompanying inscription reads: Hsing Tsung Shêng Lo-shêng. This youth is evidently Lo-shêng-yen, also called Lo-shêng, the son of Hsi-nu-lo, the founder of the Ta Mêng kingdom in 649, probably before his father came into power, since he is shown in ordinary clothes, rather than in those of a prince. On the other hand, he is anachronistically given the title Hsing Tsung, which formed part of his posthumous title, Shih Tsung Hsing Tsung Wang. He died in 712, having reigned from 674. See the 'Nan Chao yeh shih', NCYS-Ch, 'chuan' 1, page 10 a and b, and NCYS-Fr, pages 35-6. The 'Shêng,' of course, simply means "Holy"; the inscription, therefore, may be rendered, "Hsing Tsung (Wang, i. e., King), the Holy Lo-shêng".

Facing Lo-shêng, to the spectator's left, is a man in white with a black hat of Yünnanese style, his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. The inscription is all but illegible. I tentatively suggest the following reading: ? Fang (?) Shêng (?) Fang (?) ?. I have not yet identified this man.

Next to the man in white is a warrior in armour, with a red helmet, his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. In the inscription, the only character at all clear is Huang, "Emperor". The third and last figure in the group of three to the left of this register, is a monarch dressed in a long white robe, with an elaborate tall red crown, his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. His long sleeves have wide borders with a variation of the "thunder pattern (Greek fret), and he wears the square, upturned shoes which were fashionable in China in the Tang period. The inscription reads: Hsiao Ai Chung Hsing Huang Ti. The Hsiao is so worn as to be illegible, but the other characters are clear enough, so that there can be no doubt that this personage is Shun-hua-chên, the last ruler of Nan Chao, who reigned from 897 to 902. Chung Hsing is the name of the reign period which began one year after his accession, that is, in 898, and continued perhaps until 902. Hsiao Ai Huang Ti is his posthumous title. See the table of rulers in the French edition of the 'Nan Chao yeh shih', pages 271-272. It is interesting to note that this monarch is also represented—and clearly labelled—in the Yünnanese scroll formerly in the possession of Yamanaka and Company, and that it was in his reign, in the year 899, that the original of which the Yamanaka scroll is a copy was painted.

In the register in the immediate foreground, to the right, is a king whose flesh is white in colour, in flowing robes with long sleeves and a tall red crown. He has borders on his sleeves like those of the preceding king; he wears also a collar of complicated design, possibly of jewelry, and striped shoes. His hands are in 'añjali mudrā'. He is attended on the proper left by a person of a dark flesh colour, dressed in a white skirt, with a white scarf over his shoulders. He is adorned with anklets, kneelets, bracelets and necklace, and wears his hair in a knot at the upper back of his head, with a lock over each shoulder. His hands are in 'añjali mudrā'. There are two smaller attendants, dressed in white, each with his hands in 'añjali mudrā'. The inscription to the left of the king with the tall crown reads: Chao Ch'êng Huang Ti ? ? ?, the Emperor Chao Ch'êng.....So worn are the characters following 'Ti' that it is even uncertain whether there are two or three. The monarch can be identified however. He is Feng Yü, who reigned over Nan Chao from 824 to 859, whose posthumous title was Chao Ch'êng Wang. See the table mentioned above, op. cit., page 272. The bareheaded man next to Feng Yü—who is himself barefooted (see supra) as well as bareheaded—is evidently a ruler too, because the only two legible characters in the inscription above his head are 'Huang Ti', Emperor". The inscriptions accompanying the two smaller figures, who are probably princes rather than attendants, are so rubbed and worn as to be indecipherable.

To the spectator's left, proceeding from the centre of the picture outward, is a man dressed in white, with his legs bound in clothes, as if for horseback riding. His feet are bare. His hair is dressed in a topknot, and he carries against his breast something which seems to have a beak and wings. The inscription is illegible.

Behind him, also facing toward the centre, are three men, each in a white robe with a red girdle and a tall black hat with streamers, and with hands in 'añjali mudrā'. The inscription is very worn. Possibly the second character is 'Tsung'; the first character has the "heart" radical and may possibly be 'Hsi'; the third may be 'Wu'; I do not venture a guess on the fourth. I have not been able to

identify this personage. The first two characters in the inscription following (to the left) are Shên Wu. Shên Wu Wang was the posthumous title of Ko-lo-fêng, who ruled Nan Chao from 748 to 778, op. cit., page 271. The last inscription is almost completely worn away and I can not read it. It looks to me very much as if someone, with malice aforethought, had tried to obliterate these names of Yünnanese monarchs. It is interesting to find so many portraits, even though they are not contemporary, of rulers who played their parts in the early history of Yünnan.

The large inscription at the upper left of this same panel reads : Shi-i-mên Kuan-shih-yin P'a-sa, i. e., "Ekidaśamukha Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva."

The seventy-fourth group. Vairocana Buddha. Vairocana, whose flesh is white in colour, dressed in a plain red robe edged with gold, sits in 'vajrasana' on a lotus done in black and white, which rests on a square pedestal. A whitish scarf depends from the back of his elaborate crown and shown at the side of each arm. His hands are in the mystic 'mudrā' called in Chinese 'chih-ch'üan yin', or "knowledge-fist mudrā"¹. The left forefinger is held within the closed right fist. This 'mudrā' symbolized the unity of the two worlds, the Buddha worlds and the human worlds, or the Diamond Cycle and the Womb Cycle, the spiritual and material aspects of the universe². This 'mudrā' is peculiar to Vairocana, so far as I know, and is his 'mudrā' as the main figure in the Diamond Cycle 'maṇḍala' ('vajradhātu maṇḍala').

In our painting, Vairocana is encircled by a pale red, round halo, gold-edged, the red fading out near the body of the Buddha. The inner halo is colourless, edged with flame done in outline. Clouds issue from the top of the red halo. Among the clouds to the right, is an 'apsaras' with a dish of flowers ; opposite is another 'apsaras' with an unidentified object in each hand. In front of the throne is an empty offering table. To the right is a personage in a robe like a monk's, done in outline, wearing a red crown and holding an incense burner in his left hand. To the left stands a similar figure, holding a vase containing a lotus flower, a leaf and a bud. These are probably monarchs who entered the order, like the Emperor Wu of Liang. It is possible that they represent Su Lung, who reigned over the kingdom of Ta Li from 1022 to 1026, when he became a monk and gave the throne to the son of one of his brothers, who ruled as Su Chên until 1041, when he became a monk.³

The inscription to the left of the same panel reads : Nan-wu Pi-lu-chê-na Fo, i. e., "Adoration to Vairocana Buddha." In this case, a transliteration of the Sanskrit name is given, whereas in the one other preceding representation of this Buddha (supra), the translation was given, Ta-jib, i. e., "great Sun."

The seventy-fifth group. A form of Avalokiteśvara. Three-headed and six-armed, the divinity stands with each foot on a separate lotus, whose colour is a faded pink. The lotuses rest on clouds.

1. I do not know the Sanskrit for this 'mudrā'. Vairocana's 'mudrā' in Indian Buddhism seems to be the 'dharma-cakra mudrā'; see Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Buddhist iconography', pages 2-4, and Plate VII, figure d. Nor can I remember ever having seen any Indian Buddhist image exhibiting this "knowledge-fist" 'mudrā'. It is possible that it was invented in Central Asia or China. The Tang dynasty wooden image of Vairocana taken several years ago out of its coating of Japanese lacquer (put on in the Kamakura period ?), in the temple Toshodaiji, west of the present town of Nara, makes this 'mudrā', as do also two Korean bronze images of about the same date in the temple Bukkokuji. For a detailed description and explanation of the 'mudrā', see the 'Mikkyo Daijiten', Vol. 2, page 1589 (in Japanese).

2. The doctrine of the Two Cycles was brought to Japan from China in 807 by Kūkai or Kobo Daishi, who established the Shingon sect in Japan. So far as I am aware, no one has discovered the origin of these particular 'maṇḍalas' which I believe are used at present only in Japan.

3. NCYS-Fr, page 93. The Emperor Wu of Liang ruled the kingdom (ruled A. D. 502-549) even after he had become a monk, and the wearing of the crown by these two monks may indicate a similar state of affairs, or it may simply indicate that they had been kings.

Avalokiteśvara is dressed in flowing red robes. His main head has a moustache and a goatee. His two other heads show a tendency toward fierceness; and the noses are rather snub. In his yellow-gold crown, is a seated figure of the 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha. He has two haloes, with no rims, each edged with red flames. Above, a lotus canopy is suspended. It now appears to be done in outline, but perhaps its colour has faded.

Below is an expanse of water, in the centre of which is a bird man (a 'garuḍa' ?), somewhat resembling the Japanese Tengu. To the right, apparently on the shore, is a figure the crown of whose head is shaven, standing in adoration. To the left is a monk on the top of the waves, with shaven head and stubbly beard, also in adoration.

The attributes held and 'mudrā's formed are as follows :

Proper left : 1. A cloud on which is the sun 2. A rectangular mirror 3. A small dish.

Proper right : 1. A cloud on which is the moon 2. A flame-girdled sword 3. A willow (?) spray.

The inscription to the upper left reads : ? ? ? -tsang P'u-sa. This label no doubt applies to the central figure of the next group, who is Kṣitigarbha, or in Chinese, Ti-tsang.

The seventy-second group. Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2). Kṣitigarbha, closely resembling several of the Tun-huang representations of him, is seated on a square throne, the seat of which is supported by pillars resting on a square base. He is in 'lalita āsana', his right leg pendant, resting on a pale maroon lotus, near which is an empty pink lotus in readiness to bear his left foot. The top of the throne, which has no back, is pink. All the colours are pastel shades. Above is suspended in mid-air a lotus canopy with hanging jewelled garlands. Within the outer big, round, blue halo, is a smaller pink halo encircling the head of the divinity. Kṣitigarbha is dressed in pale yellow robes and has a pale maroon scarf over his head, which forms a hood and extends over both shoulders. As in the Tun-huang paintings¹, where he has the hood as well, his monkly costume is enlivened by a necklace. He holds in his right hand the long monk's staff and in the other, the jewel, his usual attributes.

Lotus and other flowers appear to right and left of the throne. The offering table is partly hidden by the large blue haloes of his two attendants, who are replicas of himself with variations. In the centre of the table is a tall incense burner (?) with two smaller ones to right and left. The attendant to the proper left, Kṣitigarbha again, is seated in 'Lalita āsana', his left leg pendant. On this foot is a sandal, while the other, which is horizontally placed, though not in the 'dhyāna' or 'vajra' posture with the sole upwards, is bare, its sandal resting empty on the base of the throne. The throne is placed on a square mat with a pleated edge or border. The scarf over his head is without colour (?). His inner halo is a very pale yellow, and the outer one, blue. His right hand holds a large jewel and his left, what seems to be a ball of crystal. To the left, is another figure of Kṣitigarbha, wearing a low, jewelled tiara, a red skirt and a yellow monk's robe. He wears also a necklace, bracelets and anklets. He sits in 'bhadrāsana' on an armless seat, of which only the elaborate legs are visible. Each foot rests on a lotus, while underneath is a narrow lotus base. In his proper right hand, he holds a long staff, and in the left, a transparent jewel or ball of crystal.

The seventy-third group. Mārīcī devī (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). Mārīcī, with three heads, each of which has three eyes and the proper right one of which is a pig's,² and with six arms, stands on a green lotus, drawn by seven pigs. On the same lotus, are standing two female attendants, one right and one left, half-hidden behind Mārīcī, each with a bow and arrow, aiming at a demon, who kneels below. The fact that they are on the same lotus indicates that they are really Mārīcī herself

1. See, for example, Stein, 'The Thousand Buddhas', plate XXV; Stein, 'Serindia', Plate LXII; and Hackin and others, 'Asiatic mythology', fig. 5 on page 249.

2. Mārīcī's one pig face is usually on the proper left; see Bhattacharyya, op cit. Plate XXX, fig. c, and Plate XXXI, fig. a.



or very close emanations of her. The dwarfs represent the demons of darkness, at whom Mārīcī, as Goddess of the Dawn, sends her arrows of light. Mārīcī is dressed in white, with long sleeves, ruffled at the elbows. She wears a crown, in which is the 'dhyāni' Buddha Vairocana, of whom she is an emanation.¹ She is adorned with jewelry and her crown is large and complicated; at the back rises her hair, like a high tower. The 'dhyāni' Buddha is seated, according to the rule.

The attributes held are as follows :

Proper left : 1. A lasso (held in a noose extending not only downward but also across to the corresponding right hand, which also has hold of it) 2. Two lotus flowers 3. A bow.

Proper right : 1. A three-pointed 'vajra' (held aloft) 2. A lasso (the same held by the corresponding left hand) 3. An arrow.

A common form of Mārīcī has three faces and eight arms, the two missing here usually holding, one a needle and the other, a thread. None of the forms listed by Bhattacharyya,² exactly corresponds to the image in the Palace Museum scroll.

In the foreground, to the right, is a red, hairy man, wearing a white loincloth, standing with both arms upraised, his hair standing on end. Opposite him, to the left, is a woman, whose flesh is gold in colour, dressed in a pink skirt and a white scarf, draped around her hips, seated astride a donkey. Her head is turned toward the red man and she has a vexed expression. She wears anklets, bracelets and a necklace. I have not yet been able to identify these attendants, either the two shooting arrows or the man and woman. Bhattacharyya³ lists four attendant goddesses and cites a case in which three only are shown; but neither in his description nor in the images illustrated in his book are any corresponding to the man and woman. The other two may possibly belong to the group of four goddesses.

Mārīcī has an enormous red halo edged with blue flames, which rises from the lotus pedestal on each side, though hidden by the man and woman. The inner part of the halo is elliptical, but the outer part, i. e., the outline of the flame, is shaped like a lotus leaf. Above is a canopy of three large flowers, from which hang chains or garlands.

The seventy-fourth group. The 'Pañcaguhyā',⁴ or "Five Esoteric Ones" (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2). Samantabhadra and four other Bodhisattvas are seated on a huge lotus, done in outline, within a white disc on a cloud pedestal. In the centre of the single supporting pillar of cloud is a disc containing within it a five-pronged 'vajra', standing vertically on end. Samantabhadra's body is gold in colour. He sits in the 'paryāṅka āsana' towards the back of the lotus in the centre. In his right hand, balanced on his middle finger and supported by his thumb, he holds a three- (or five-) pronged 'vajra' and in his left, he holds upside down a 'ghaṭṭā' the handle of which is like one end of a three- (or five-) pronged 'vajra'. The 'ghaṭṭā' and the hand holding it are turned outward. This is neither the 'vajrahūṅkara' nor the 'trilokya-vijaya mudrā'.⁵ It is, however, found very often, as well as the similar position with the bell handle up and the hand turned inward,⁶ in Japanese Shingon images of Vajrasattva and Samantabhadra.⁷ In the Palace

1. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., page 93.

2. Ibid., pages 95-100.

3. Op. cit., page 98. See also page 99 and Plates XXX and XXXI.

4. I have coined this Sanskrit name. Neither the 'Bukkyo daijiten' nor the 'Mikkyo daijiten' gives the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese name, but both give accounts of the group (see infra).

5. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., page 198.

6. As in the Nepalese image illustrated in Bhattacharyya, op. cit. Pl. IX, fig. b, described on page 6.

7. See the 'Bijuten kenkyū', Plates II and XI. Here in both cases the 'vajra' is held obliquely and the bell with its handle up. See also the 'Bukkyo daijiten', Vol. II, p. 1273, figure in the text, and the 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, page 629, figure in the text. Here also in both cases, the 'vajra' is held obliquely and the bell handle up. In the latter case, the three figures in the centre are in a row, Ai (with the fish on a pole) rising from behind Vajrasattva, and Man seated in front of him. In this interesting example, each of the five bears on his breast the Sanskrit syllable which is his 'bija mantra' (see infra).

Museum roll, Samantabhadra wears an elaborate crown in which are small images of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas, and a lock of hair falls over each shoulder. He has anklets, bracelets, both upper and lower necklace and earrings.

Behind him, their heads appearing over his shoulders, are two Bodhisattvas. One knee of each shows, that of one to the right of Samantabhadra's knee, and that of the other, to the left. The one at the right is flesh-coloured and holds a pole with a fish on its top. He wears a pink skirt and a white scarf. On his head is an elaborate crown¹ and one lock of hair flows over his left shoulder. The Bodhisattva to the left (proper right) is of a fairer flesh-colour and has his arms clasped around Samantabhadra's body. He is dressed in a similar fashion. Further to Samantabhadra's left is another of the group, seated in 'mahārājāṇa āsana', his left knee raised. Both hands make 'mudrā'. He is dressed in a light yellow skirt and scarf, with yellow jewelry. His headdress is less elaborate than those of the two Bodhisattvas who peep out one over each of Samantabhadra's shoulders. The fifth member of the group is seated opposite in 'mahārājāṇa āsana', his right knee raised, and is dressed similarly. He holds an arrow in both hands, the feathered tip in his right hand and the point in his left. Samantabhadra is considerably larger than the others; and the two Bodhisattvas described first are larger than the two who sit in the foreground of the lotus to right and left. According to both the 'Bukkyo daijiten'² and the 'Mikkyo daijiten'³, each one should wear a crown bearing the Five Dhyāni Buddhas. Here, apparently, Samantabhadra is the only one who fulfils the requirement.

These figures are all seated on a large lotus above which is a blue halo edged with flames, the whole enclosed in a large white halo which rests on the cloud stand described above. At the very top of the picture is draped a white curtain, from which hang jewelled garlands. Below are the Four Guardian Kings, seated on rocks, Vaiśravaṇa with bright red hair, holding a 'stūpa' in his left hand and a mace in his right, in the immediate foreground to the left.

There are two inscriptions on this panel. The one to the right reads: Nan-wu pi-mi wu⁴ P'u-hsien, i. e., "Adoration to the Samantabhadra of the Esoteric Five". That to the left reads: Nan-wu Ma-li-chih Fo-mu, i. e., "Adoration to Māricī, Buddha's Mother". It refers to the image of Māricī which precedes that of Samantabhadra. For the term, "Buddha's Mother", see supra under Shē-fu-li Fo-mu.

This group of the Esoteric Five occurs in paintings of the Shingon sect in Japan, for example, in a painting owned by Daigoji, and in one owned by Ninnaji, both Shingon temples in Kyoto. Two other examples of which I know are in private collections in Japan; one is owned by Mr. Hanzaburo Momiyama, Tokyo, and the other by Mr. Kinta Muto, of Hyogo prefecture. These are described in the 'Bijutsu kenkyū'⁵ according to the manner of the Shingon sect, that is, the central figure is said to be that of Vajrasattva, and the Bodhisattvas described on the preceding page are, in the order given there, Ai, "Love", Man, "Sloth (or Pride)", Ch'u, "Anger", and Yū, "Desire (lust)". When, however, Samantabhadra is the central figure, the four other Bodhisattvas respectively receive the following names, Ai Chin-kang, "Love Vajra", Chin-kang Man Tsun, or "Vajra Sloth Honoured one", Ch'i-li-ch'i-lo⁶ Tsun, or Ārya Kelikila, and Yū Chin-kang, or "Desire Vajra".⁷ No Sanskrit names other than Kelikila are given. In both cases,

1. My notes do not mention the five Dhyāni Buddhas in the crowns of any except the central figure; and I can not see them in my small photograph, even with a magnifying glass.

2. Vol. II, page 1273.

3. Vol. I, page 629.

4. The 'Chu lin' incorrectly gives 'kēng', "universal", "lasting", in place of 'wu', "Five".

5. No. 32, pages 24—6.

6. The 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, page 629, gives the Sanskrit of which this name is a transliteration as 'Kelikila', which it says means the same as 'Ch'u', i. e., "Anger".

7. 'Bukkyo daijiten', Vol. II, page 1273. The group with Samantabhadra as the central figure is probably that used by the Tendai sect in Japan, but it by no means follows that the corresponding Chinese representation—as, for example, in the long roll—was used by the T'ien-t'ai sect in China.

whether it is Vajrasattva or Samantabhadra, the central figure represents the Bodhicitta and the other four represent 'kleśa', or passions. The white circle including all the figures symbolizes Prajñā, or Transcendent Wisdom, by and through and in which human passions become the Bodhicitta, or "Will toward Enlightenment". It is interesting to note that the 'mantra' of this group, consisting of five syllables, one for each of the divinities, is 'Om Mahāsukha'.¹ We have here a striking instance of the Tantric doctrine that the phenomenal and noumenal are One and that the same things (passions or practices) which sometimes act as spiritual poisons may, when properly understood and controlled, lead to Enlightenment.

Before leaving this interesting group, I may note the correspondence of these five crowned and royally decked figures, who are all really one and the same, having Vajrasattva or Samantabhadra—who are both sometimes regarded as Ādi-Buddha²—with the group of the Five Dhyaṇi Buddhas, having the crowned image of Ādi-Buddha Vairocana in the centre. The correspondence is especially striking in the case of the example given in the figure in the text on page 629 of the 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, in which the figures are so arranged that each one of the four subsidiary Bodhisattvas takes a place consonant with one of the four directions, while Vajrasattva occupies the centre, held by Vairocana in groups of the Five Dhyaṇi Buddhas.

So far as I am aware, this example of the 'Pañcaguhyā' occurring in the Palace Museum roll is the only Chinese representation of the subject known. It is, of course, possible that others may turn up, either in the collections owned by temples in Japan, in the Palace Museum collection itself—the treasures of which have not been thoroughly sifted—or somewhere else. Meanwhile, it is something to have one example to place beside the Japanese paintings of the same subject.

The seventy-fifth group. (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) A single-headed, six-armed divinity is seated in 'lalitāsana' on a white lotus which rests on eight jars containing jewels. Her right foot is pendent, resting on a lotus which is on top of two of the jars. Above are four dwarfs, two on each side. One of each two has a jar of jewels, which the other one is trying to get, holding the top knot of the first with his right hand and brandishing a club with his left.

Scattered on the ground near the eight jars, are all kinds of jewels, coral, a lotus, two conch shells, and so forth. In the foreground to the spectator's right, is a man, naked except for a lotus-petal girdle (which does not hide his penis), with the head of a horned ram, standing with a bag in his arms and over his shoulder, from which issues a stream of jewels. To the left is a woman also standing, naked except for a lotus-petal girdle (which does not hide the 'yonī', or 'kteis'), a necklace, one anklet on her right ankle, and a red scarf over her right shoulder. She holds what is probably a large cornucopia, from which pours a stream of jewels.

The main divinity is gold in colour. She wears a red skirt, a maroon jacket, with maroon oversleeves to the elbow, with white undersleeves extending to the wrist. She wears anklets, a necklace, earrings, and an elaborate red crown. There are two haloes, the larger of which, shaped like a lotus petal or like the leaf of the 'bodhi' tree (the top of it is hidden by the smaller halo), rises from the top of the lotus seat, while the smaller, slightly elliptical in shape, encircles the head of the divinity. Both haloes have lotus petal borders, edged with flames outlined in red. At the top of the smaller halo is a jewel.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows:

Proper left: 1. A jewel (tripartite) 2. A vase containing flowers 3. A bow.

Proper right: 1. Makes a 'mudrā' (hand extended downward, palm up, fingers bent.....a form of 'dharmaśakra mudrā'?) 2. A vase containing a branch 3. An arrow.

The inscription at the upper right reads: Chin-su liu-pei P'o-su T'o-lo Fo-mu, i.e., "The gold-coloured

1. 'Bukkyo daijiten', loc. cit.; 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, page 629.

2. See Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Buddhist Iconography', pages 2 and 6, and Getty, 'Gods of Northern Buddhism', page 46.

six-armed P'o-su Tārā, Buddha's Mother". I have not yet identified this form of Tārā. It is evident that she is a goddess of good fortune, especially of wealth.

The seventy-sixth group. Dharmapāramitā Bodhisattva. The divinity stands on two lotuses, done in outline. She holds a long-stemmed white (or uncoloured?) lotus in both hands; the left arm is bent at the elbow. She wears an elaborate gold crown, decorated with flaming jewels, in which is a figure of her 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha,¹ standing on a red lotus. Dharmapāramitā wears the many kinds of jewelry appropriate to a Bodhisattva. Her pink underskirt is draped at the knees; and over it she wears a very pale, grey-green overskirt, with a pale yellow lining. A maroon under-vest shows in front. She has only one halo, which is round and pale blue in colour; from it rises a white cloud.

In the background are a rock and peonies in bloom; and in the foreground are two peacocks, one to the divinity's proper left, his tail behind her.

The inscription on the same panel to the upper right reads: Nan-wu lien-hua pu-mu, i. e., "Adoration to the Mother of the Lotus-flower section." The Lien-hua Pu, or "Lotus-flower section" is one of the five sections of the 'Vajradhātu maṇḍala'.² Associated with each of these sections is one of the Five Dhyāni Buddhas and also a feminine divinity known as the 'Pu-mu', or "Section mother". Dharmapāramitā is the section mother of the 'Lien-hua pu' or 'Padma kula'. The name 'Dharmapāramitā' means, "The Dharma (or Law) as a means of crossing to the other shore."³ The inclusion of this divinity in the long roll is significant. We may legitimately infer that the 'Vajradhātu' and 'Garbhakośadhātu' maṇḍalas were known in Yünnan in the 12th century. And, as I have remarked before, the iconography of this long roll is that of the Buddhism of the T'ang dynasty in China, i. e., the Buddhism which reached its climax under the T'ang and lingered on here and there with more or less vigour during succeeding centuries up at least to the end of Sung.

The seventy-sixth group. The inscription on the same panel as the preceding image of Dharmapāramitā, which probably refers to the section following, reads: Nan-wu Tzu Chin-kang Tsang, i. e., "Adoration to Tzu Vajragarbha." The character 'Tzu' means "wealth" or "property." I do not know the divinity or divinities referred to and I can not find the name Tzu Chin-Kang Tsang in either the 'Bukkyo daijiten' or the 'Mikkyo daijiten'. None of the three divinities (see infra) correspond to the representations of Vajragarbha Bodhisattva or of Aṣṭottara-śata-bhūja Vajradhara (Chin-kang Tsang Wang P'u-sa).⁴

Three divinities are seated on grass on a dais which rests on a rock shaped like Mount Sumeru. To the spectator's right is the sun and opposite, on the other side of the rock, is the moon. Rising from the end of each side of the dais, is a hemispherical blue halo, edged with colourless flames, which encloses the three divinities. Above at the top of the picture, is an egg-and-dart border, from which hangs a curtain festooned in three loops, with hanging garlands. Between the curtain and the halo, are two circles, in each of which is a figure, the one to the spectator's right kneeling, the other kneeling with his head to the ground (kōtowing).

The central figure of the trinity, seated in 'vajrasana' on grass, has an appearance similar to representations of Vajrasattva and of Samantabhadra. He holds a three (or five?) pronged 'vajra' balanced on the thumb and two middle fingers of his right hand, while in his left, he has a 'ghaṭṭā'. He

1. 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. II, page 2028.

2. The five sections are: 'Fo pu', or 'Buddha kula', the 'Chin-kang pu', or 'Vajra kula', the 'Pao' (or 'Ma-ni') 'pu', or 'Mani kula', 'Lien-hua pu', or 'Padma kula', and the 'Chieh'-(or 'Chieh-lu')-'ma pu', or 'Karma kula'. The lords of the five sections are respectively Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitāyus (Amitābha) and Amoghasiddhi. See the 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, page 631.

3. For further details, see the 'Mikkyo Daijiten', Vol. II, page 2028.

4. The Lien-hua pu is one of the three sections of the 'Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala', which are 'Fo-pu' or 'Buddha kula', 'Lien-hua pu', or 'Padma kula', and 'Chin-kang pu', or 'Vajra kula'. See the 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, page 820, and Vol. III, page 2301.

5. 'Bukkyo daijiten', Vol. II, pages 1337-1338, and 'Mikkyo daijiten', Vol. I, pages 702-703.

wears an elaborate crown, grey in colour, and his hair flows over his shoulders. He has on gold earrings, necklace, bracelets, upper and lower, and anklets; he is naked to the waist except for this jewelry. He wears a pink skirt and a white scarf. He has the 'ūrṣā' and his flesh is white. To the right is a divinity with skin of a pinkish flesh colour, seated in 'vajrasana' on grass, holding a blue (?) lotus. He wears a white skirt and is naked above the waist except for jewelry, necklace, armlets, bracelets, earrings, etc. His hair flows over his shoulders. On his head is a small crown. To the left is a divinity whose skin is of a yellowish flesh colour, dressed like the preceding, who holds a naked sword in his right hand and a roll (?) in his left.¹

The rock which resembles Mount Sumeru rises out of blue water, on which float three indeterminate objects. On a smaller rock to the right sits a feminine divinity (Śrī Mahādevī ?), holding a white lotus in her left hand and making 'varada mudrā' with her right. Attendant on her is a small figure whose head is like a jewel in a lotus. On another rock to the left sits a warrior (Vaiśravaṇa ?), holding a sword in his right hand and a jewel in his left. Attendant on him is a small person with a head like a vegetable.

The seventy-seventh group. The inscription at the upper right reads: (?) Nan-wu ? -yü-li Kuanyin, i. e., "Adoration to ?-yü-li Avalokiteśvara." I have not identified this form of Avalokiteśvara, which, as imaged here, has some of the characteristics of a dragon king. The divinity appears with three human heads, each with a third eye, six arms and two legs. Above his human heads are seven snakes' heads, each crested with a jewel; and he has a long snake's tail. He wears bracelets, armlets, anklets, a necklace and a girdle, all composed of small snakes. His earrings, however, are of gold. Over his left shoulder, is slung a snake's skin. He wears an elaborate gold crown in which is a seated image of his 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha. His flesh is uncoloured. He wears a short red skirt, with the skin of some animal over it as a girdle, above which is the girdle of snakes. He stands on a white lotus, the petals of which are edged with crimson. The lotus rests on crowds of snakes. The divinity has a large red halo edged with colourless flames. Within the halo are eight Buddhas (the Seven Buddhas of the Past and Present, with the Future Buddha Maitreya, possibly), each holding an object closely resembling a human hand. At the top of the halo is a jewel. Above is a colourless canopy of three flowers, with hanging garlands.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows:

Proper left: 1. Makes a 'mudrā' (index finger raised) 2. A spray of flowers 3. A bow.

Proper right: 1. A three (or five ?) pointed 'vajra' (raised aloft) 2. A naked sword 3. An arrow.

The dragon king (Avalokiteśvara) is attended by four 'nāginis', the two upper ones with seven snakes' heads each, and the two lower ones with three each only. She to the upper proper left of the king holds a spray of flowers in her right hand and a snake in her left. Her companion, somewhat lower in the picture, holds a snake in her left hand and makes a 'mudrā' with her right. Of those to the proper right of the king, the upper one makes a 'mudrā' with her left hand, while her right is hidden from the spectator; the lower one holds a sword in her right hand and a snake in her left. Below in the centre, is a man with three legs lying on his back, while to each side are three kneeling figures.

The seventy-eighth group. Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara. The inscription at the upper right reads: Nan-wu Ju-i-lun tēng, i. e., "Adoration to Cintāmaṇi-cakra and (his) attendants." The divinity sits in 'mahārājalīlā āsana' on a white lotus edged with crimson, with designs in maroon at the bases of the

1. It may be noted that the blue lotus, 'utpala', is an attribute of Mañjuśrī, and that the description of the divinity to the left fits Arapacana Mañjuśrī, except for the colour of the body (see Bhattacharyya, op. cit., page 28 and Plate XVII, figs. a, b, and c). I remember very well a form of Mañjuśrī holding the sword, the colour of whose body was yellow, called Kumārabhūta Mañjuśrī, but I am at present unable to track him down. It is possible that the two minor members of the trinity are forms of Mañjuśrī. The roll, of course, would then be the 'Prajñāpāramitā sūtra'.

petals. He has three haloes. The outer one is white, edged with gold; the round one behind the body is pale blue, edged with flames, which are yellow ending in red points; the one behind the head, which is round or oval, is of a slightly darker blue and is edged with the same kind of flames. On its circumference, above the tip of the crown of the divinity, is a tripartite jewel. The crown is very elaborate and bears a seated image of the 'dhyāni' Buddha Amitābha. Cintāmaṇi-cakra is gold in colour and has the 'ūrpā'. He is adorned with all the royal jewelry—earrings, necklace, girdle, kneelets, armlets, bracelets, anklets, etc.

The attributes held and 'mudrās' formed are as follows :

Proper left : 1. Rests on a rock (representing Potalaka) 2. Holds a wheel 3. A long-stemmed pale maroon lotus on which is a tripartite pale blue jewel edged with blue flames.

Proper right : 1. Raised to cheek 2. Holds a tripartite red jewel edged with red flames 3. Holds a piece of jewelry (should be a rosary).

Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara wears a dark pink skirt with red folds, a white scarf and a pale maroon scarf. On his left shoulder is a third scarf, orange in colour, with red folds. From his crown on each side flow pink scarves with red folds. Red ribbons (?) hang from the crown in loops over his forehead. His eyes, eyebrows, nose and mouth, as well as the hand resting against the cheek, seem to have been retouched. Above is a canopy of 'pao-hsiang hua' (a kind of conventionalized lotus, combined with tendrils for the purposes of design), pink, maroon, blue and other colours, and two pale maroon lotuses, with hanging gold garlands.¹

In the foreground, are four female attendants. Farthest to the spectator's right is a lady kneeling on her left knee, her head turned to the left, with her two index fingers raised touching each other. Red flames issue from their point of juncture. She is dressed in pale pinks and maroons. The lotus on which she kneels is yellow and her halo is pale green. Next to her, farther to the spectator's left and closer to him, is another lady kneeling on her right knee on a pink lotus edged with red. Her dress is a pale green-yellow. She holds a conch shell in both hands. To the spectator's left, in a position corresponding to that of the lady just described, is another attendant seated (?) on a pink lotus edged with maroon. Her head is turned away from the centre and she holds a tray of pink lotus flowers in both hands. She is dressed in pale pink and has a pale green halo. The painting is worn and stained where the lower part of her body should be. Behind her and farther to the spectator's left, in a position corresponding to that of the first of the four, is a fourth attendant, seated, facing the centre, with both (?) knees raised. The lotus under her is pink and she wears a pink skirt with a white ruffled border and a pale yellowish-green over-garment. Her head is seen in profile, with a somewhat Jewish nose in evidence. Each of the four has the 'ūrpā'. Although I have not yet been able to identify these ladies, who are probably 'devīs', I have found four divinities accompanying Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara in a painting from Bactraklik, Murtuq, Turkestan, who are probably the same. The picture is illustrated by a drawing only, and is to be found in Grünwedel, 'Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan', Fig. 500, and in Coomaraswamy, 'Elements of Buddhist iconography', Plate XV. Coomaraswamy, following Grünwedel, calls the divinity Padmapāpi, but there can be no doubt, I think, that we have here a representation of Cintāmaṇi-cakra. In this case, the attendant divinities are enclosed in haloes, and are seated on lotuses whose stalks issue from the main stem which supports the lotus seat of Cintāmaṇi-cakra.

The seventy-ninth group. Hārītī (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2.) The inscription at the upper right reads : Ho-li-ti Mu chung, i. e., "Mother Hārītī and her entourage". Hārītī is seated on a large dais, in 'lalita āsana', her right leg pendant, resting on a lotus; an empty lotus awaits her left foot. She holds a

1. For further information about this divinity, including the philosophy back of his worship, symbolism of the six arms, etc., see the article by the present writer entitled 'A study in Buddhist iconography', mentioned before.



2



1



3



4



5

XVIII

pomegranate, her usual attribute, in her right hand and her youngest son Pingala¹ in her left. He holds a round fan in his left hand. He is chubby and round-faced and leans out over his mother's restraining arm. She wears flowing robes and a long scarf which whirls into one large circle behind her head and two smaller ones to right and left, forming a kind of halo. Her sleeves have ruffles at the elbow, from which long under-sleeves extend to the wrists. She wears a head-dress of considerable elaborateness, the highest part of which is at the back, and earrings, necklace, anklets, girdle, etc. Her feet are bare.

One boy, wearing a diminutive apron tied in back above his little bare behind, climbs up over Hārītī's right foot, and another boy, more fully dressed, is kneeling on his left knee, his right knee bent, and leaning forward either to help his brother or possibly bent on mischief, thinking to push his mother's foot and upset the little climber. Above, hangs a canopy with pendant streamers and garlands, and behind Hārītī and the two attendants to right and left of her, is a four-fold screen which stands very high, depicting waves. The background above the screen was once probably of a blue colour, a suggestion of which remains at the very top of the picture.


To Hārītī's proper left, stands an attendant, holding a small boy in her arms; while to the right, a somewhat larger attendant holds what seems to be a string, on the upper end of which is a large fan with a painting of birds and flowers on it. The string, held in her right hand, turns obliquely in Hārītī's direction and is held also, farther down, by the right hand of the attendant, which is covered by her long sleeve. In front of the attendant holding the child, is a wet-nurse, seated on the floor, giving her breast to another boy. Opposite her and in front of the attendant with the fan, stands a nurse holding a child in her arms and kissing him. Slightly to the spectator's right of the centre, in the immediate foreground, is a fifth nurse, kneeling on her right knee, holding out a towel in both hands toward a little boy in overalls, who has both hands over his head. Evidently, he is not over-desirous of having his face washed. Behind the boy in overalls, to the spectator's left, a boy with an extremely large head is reclining on a pillow, fast asleep. On the floor in front of him, is a hobby horse. On the other side, behind the kneeling attendant and in front of the wet-nurse, is a little boy hugging a dog.

The whole scene is a delightful bit of 'genre' painting, introduced quite naturally as a part of the composition and as a part of the iconography. There is very little colouring in this picture, which is perhaps unfinished. The hair and flesh are painted in, and the jewelry is also coloured, though but faintly, except for a part of Hārītī's headdress. The waves on the screen are shaded with ink and the sky above is a pale yellow. The panelling of the screen was once blue. It is possible that certain colours have faded or been washed away.

The eightieth group. The Cakravartin, or Universal Monarch. The inscription at the upper right reads: *Ta sbhng san-chieh chuan-lun wang chung*, i. e., "The Great Holy King who turns the wheel in the Three Worlds and his retinue." The Cakravartin sits in 'lalitāsana', with his left leg pendant, on two fierce demons on a rock. He is cross-eyed and wears a fierce expression. He is of a Central Asian type, has almond eyes, pointed chin, wide face and pointed ears, and is very hairy. He is dressed completely in armour, except that he wears a headdress instead of a helmet. He holds a halberd just below the blade in his left hand, while the handle rests on the rock, and his right hand, open palm outward, is behind the halberd.

Behind him, one extending her head to the right and the other extending hers to the left, are two female attendants. To the proper left is a man with a reddish beard, holding a blank book and two writing brushes. Opposite him is a hairy demon, light brown in colour, with a large, red, open mouth; his right hand is upraised and his left is holding a tall banner. He is naked except for a tiger-skin and a scarf

1. Her youngest among five hundred and her favourite, whom the Buddha stole for a time and hid in his begging bowl in order to convert Hārītī from her evil ways of child eating. He is said to have given her the pomegranate because, when broken open, this blood-red fruit somewhat resembles human flesh. For an excellent study of Hārītī, see Péri, 'Hārītī La Mère-de-démons', in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. XVII, 1917.

around his loins. In front of him, a bearded king (?) is seated on a chair, wearing a hat. On his robe is the symbol . His hands are crossed in front, thumb touching thumb. To his left is a female

attendant. Opposite him, bowing to the waist before him, is an armoured warrior, bearded, holding a bow in his left hand, and pointing backward with his right. At the top, are remnants of a blue background. The Cakravartin has a pale blue halo. All the people in the picture are painted various shades of flesh colour. The demon to the spectator's left on whom the Cakravartin is sitting has red hair. The rock is shaded with ink. The hair is painted black in every case except as noted above. The two demons are grey. The armour is slightly coloured and the halberd and banner have gold staves; the rest is in outline.

The eighty-first group. A fierce, three-headed, two-legged, eight-armed divinity, whose flesh is gold in colour, stands on a pink and white lotus. He has red hair and his main head is furnished with a red beard. Each face has tusks and three eyes; and on each head are two skulls, a gold headdress and a snake. The divinity wears snake anklets, bracelets and armlets, while other snakes are draped over his left shoulder. He has also one snake earring. He wears in addition a gold necklace, armlets and girdle. He has on a pink skirt, showing red at the folds, a tigerskin and a white scarf. Above the waist, he is naked except for the jewelry and the snakes.

The attributes he holds are as follows:

Proper left: 1. A lasso 2. A trident 3. A sword capped by three three-pronged 'vajra' 4. A bow.

Proper right: 1. A three-pronged 'vajra' (held aloft) 2. A naked sword 3. A sword (?) capped by a flaming jewel 4. A quiver full of arrows.

Behind the divinity are pale yellow flames edged with black and red. In their midst, is a band of yellow, blue and maroon, forming a halo. In the foreground, to the spectator's right, is a bird with human arms, kneeling, his head raised. In front of him, is an openwork basket containing three human heads.

There is no inscription.

The eighty-second group. Vaiśravapa (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 4), The Guardian of the North, god of wealth and of war, stands on clouds, dressed elaborately in armour. On his head, however, instead of a helmet, he wears a fancy crown, seemingly more suitable for a queen, with a phoenix rising from the centre; and in the ear visible to the spectator, is a large gold earring. He wears red sandals on his bare feet, and a long white scarf is draped over both arms and flutters in the air to right and left. He holds a 'stūpa' on a dark grey lotus on the palm of his right hand and a tall banner in his left, at the top of which is a two-edged spear. The banner has many streamers, gaily coloured yellow, blue, red, green, and maroon. In lieu of a halo, flames encircle his head. He has two attendants, much smaller than he, standing behind him, a 'garuḍa' to the proper left and a boy to the right. The 'garuḍa' is slightly taller than the boy, but does not reach Vaiśravapa's waist. He has a bird's head and wings, but human legs and feet, and is very hairy. The clouds on which all three are standing end in a long tapering streamer sweeping around from the spectator's right of the flame-halo and ending in a point at the very top of the picture to the extreme left of the panel.

The eighty-third group. A fierce (ugra) divinity, (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 5) whose flesh is gold in colour, with nine heads, eighteen arms, and three legs, stands on a 'yantra' on a red lotus which rests on a rock. In the corner of the 'yantra' which points toward the spectator, is a limp human female figure, around which twines a white snake. The hair of all nine heads, red and gold in colour, is standing on end. The central head in each tier of three is provided with tusks, and all nine faces have three eyes each. Skulls and snakes adorn all the nine heads, and the divinity wears a necklace of severed human heads and snakes. His bracelets, armlets, kneelets and anklets are all of snakes. He wears a tigerskin from the loins to the knees, and a pink scarf is tied about his loins, leaving his navel bare; above, he is naked, except for a red scarf worn around his body under the arms.

The hands hold:

Proper left: 1. A conch (the same conch is also held by right hand No. 2) 2. A skull (also

held by right hand No. 1) 3. A trident 4. A human body held by the legs (the head of the same body is held by right hand No. 4) 5. A hand-drum (shaped like the Japanese 'tsuzumi') 6. A human head 7. A tortoise 8. The tail of a snake (the head of which is held by right hand No. 8) 9. A buffalo horn (?).

Proper right: 1. A skull (also held by left hand No. 2) 2. A conch (also held by left hand No. 1) 3. A trident 4. The head of a human body (the legs of which are held by left hand No. 4) 5. A three-pronged 'vajra' upright on a pink lotus 6. A 'ghantā' 7. A small, red, spotted animal 8. A jewel (?) 9. The head of a snake (whose tail is held aloft by left hand No. 8).

The divinity is surrounded by a halo of flames in which are birds' heads, similar to those in the flames around Acalanātha Vidyārāja. Large feathers, with considerable space between, are visible emerging from behind the divinity's body and sticking out beyond his arms on both sides. Between the middle leg and the one on the right and between the middle leg and the one on the left, feathers similar to those in a bird's tail hang down. It would seem that this 'ugra' divinity has a connection of some kind with the feathered tribe, but what that connection is, I can not at present say. He has two small demon attendants, one to the right and the other to the left, each standing on a skull. Each has a skull on his head and a tiger-skin and a scarf around his waist, and another scarf tied around the neck. The demon to the divinity's proper left holds a peculiar dark object in his hands which is probably the head of some animal or bird, as it seems to have eyes and ears—it is perhaps an owl. The demon opposite holds a three-pronged 'vajra' in a horizontal position at the level of his shoulders. The former has his mouth open, showing his teeth, while the latter has his closed and bites his chin with his upper teeth.

I may point out once more the inclusion of Tantric divinities in the long roll and the corroboration their presence gives to what we know of Tang Buddhism from the translations made in that period and from the Tun-huang paintings. There can be no doubt that Tantric Buddhism reached its climax in China in T'ang times, probably in the 8th century, and that it continued there into Sung times, being practiced side by side with other forms of Buddhism, notably the rising sect of Ch'an.

This group is not the last one in the long roll, but it marks the end of my notes, the point near the end at which I had to stop my study when I left Peiping in March, 1932. After this Terrible One, come several other divinities and the sixteen kings mentioned by Ch'ien Lung in his inscriptions, while at the very end are two large banners with inscriptions in Sanskrit.

IV. Conclusion

The study of the long roll of Buddhist images in the Palace Museum attributed to the artist Chang Shêng-wên and painted between the years 1173 and 1176, during the reign of the Emperor Li Chên of the Hou Li Kingdom, situated in what is now Yunnan province, which has just been made, is, as the title indicates, merely a preliminary outline which the writer hopes to use as the basis for further research. None realizes better than she the necessity for further study with adequate materials in the form of reference books especially those by Japanese scholars, in the presence of the painting itself and other paintings illustrating Tang Buddhist iconography. In this paper, she has done the best she could with the material at hand; and she would welcome any suggestions or corrections. She hopes that the paper may act as a stimulus toward further comparative study of Indian and Chinese Buddhism and Buddhist art.

No attempt has been made here toward an artistic or stylistic study of the work, a study which it merits as a good example of Sung painting and as the more important one of two only known to emanate from Yunnan. The other is, of course, the Yamanaka scroll mentioned above. The writer believes that

1. A Chinese Tang dynasty pottery drum of the same shape is in the Shosoin Southern section, No. 114, illustrated in the abridged catalogue on page 142.

the small frontispiece to a Buddhist 'sūtra' in the Freer Gallery is another Sung painting which comes from Yünnan. As to what are the indigenous contributions to the style of our roll, it is hard to say, since we have so little material for comparison. A few stylistic correspondences may, however, be pointed out. The Chinese influence is basic, in technique, in quality of line and composition, in the spirit of the work, and in details both of divinities and of human beings. The landscapes are also Chinese, and the illustrations to the vows of the Buddha Bhaiṣajyaguru are delightful bits of Chinese painting. Hārīti's family of boys is one to delight a Chinese father's heart; it has a number of parallels in Sung secular painting. There is an example in the Palace Museum, where among a group of boys at play, a youngster with a big head like Hārīti's little sleepy lad is riding, if I remember correctly, on just such a hobby-horse as lies by the sleeping boy's side.

Indian influence is seen in the iconography, in the presence of 'nāgas' and 'nāginis', of the 'śādhaka' manifesting the Thousand-petalled Lotus, of the Seven Gems of the Cakravartin, etc., etc., and in the Indian dress of many of the divinities, who are naked to the waist except for jewelry, as, for example, that of the Avalokiteśvara who saves from peril, (the sixty-second group, described on p. 32 f. and reproduced on Pl. IV, JISOA, vol. IV). The introduction of the naked man with the ram's head and the naked woman with the cornucopia as attendants of the goddess of good fortune (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3), must be ascribed to Indian influence. The face of Śākyamuni, the central Buddha of the large assemblage illustrated in Plate III, JISOA vol. IV and described *ibid.* p. 122 (the fiftieth group), betrays Indian affinity. Nepalese influence is exhibited by a number of the faces, notably those of the standing figure of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and of Mārīci (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). Central Asian affinities show in the almond eyes and pointed ears of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and in the bearded face of the warrior king who may be Virūdhaka, both in the assemblage of Śākyamuni Buddha, as well as in the three bearded figures in the visit of Mañjuśrī to Vimalakīrti (Pl. II, JISOA, vol. IV). Indigenous (Yünnanese) influence may be seen in the extremely tall crowns, such as that worn by the Emperor Li Chên, in the bare feet occurring among the princes represented with the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) and elsewhere, in the topknots worn by two of these princes¹, etc.

The Palace Museum roll should be compared with Chinese and Japanese (Shingon) paintings on the one hand and with Nepalese illustrated manuscripts and Indian Tantric works on the other. The images in our roll show relationship with Indian Tantric sculpture² and no doubt would show correspondence also with paintings of the same school, had we any to put side by side with it.

The long roll has considerable interest as well for students of the political, religious and social history of Yünnan. Besides picturing for us the Emperor Li Chên and his retinue in state dress, in the act of worshipping Buddhist images, it portrays a number of other sovereigns of Yünnan among the attendants of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara and labels them for us. We may infer that this form of the Compassionate Lord was in some special way favoured, or looked upon as tutelary, by the Yünnanese court. At other places here and there throughout the roll, human beings who once trod the soil of Yünnan are inserted, for example, the monk and the lady in the foreground of the picture of Avalokiteśvara, Saviour from Peril, and it may be possible at some time to identify them. Moreover, we have pictured in this roll the Indian monk with the beard and the goatee, who played so important a part in the political and religious history of Yünnan. A portion of his legend is told in the 'Nan

1. The same fashion of doing the hair is to be seen in the Yünnanese painting formerly in the possession of Yamanaka and Company in the group seated around the iron pillar, in the figure of Hsi-nu-lo (coming from his ploughing at the call of his wife to see the Indian monk) and in other cases. In the same painting, Hsi-nu-lo, his son Lo-shêng, his wife and many others are shown with bare feet.

2. Compare, for example, many of the plates in Bhattacharyya's 'Indian Buddhist iconography', *say*, Plate XX, fig. c, and Plate XXI, with the Avalokiteśvara, Saviour from Peril, in our painting.



Chao yeh shih' and in the 'Nan Chao t'u chuan' (the scroll formerly owned by Yamanka and Company), and another portion occurs in the latter painting only, told in inscriptions as well as pictures.¹

The Palace Museum roll gives us a glimpse of the state costumes of the little kingdom of Hou Li, with their long sleeves (modelled on T'ang fashions) and towering hats and crowns. Many of the costumes are after the Chinese pattern, as some of the officials' belted robes, for example, or the armour of the warriors ; but the very tall, funnel-shaped hats and crowns are, so far as I know, peculiar to Yünnan, though they may have come there from the Western hinterland. Probably, the topknots worn by some of those not provided with high hats, are also an indigenous style. We see that many well-dressed and important people follow the native custom of going barefoot, while others wear shoes 'a la chinoise'.

The story unfolded to us in the 'Nan Chao yeh shih' of the calling of Buddhist monks to Court, of the erection of numerous temples and pagodas and images of Avalokiteśvara, etc., is corroborated by the testimony of the long roll itself, which speaks in no uncertain terms of the importance attached to the Buddhist religion by the Emperor Li Chên. The Palace Museum painting presents evidence of the prevalence of Tantric Buddhism in Yünnan in the 12th century and of the existence side by side with it and other forms, of the Ch'an sect. In this painting are what I supposed until very recently to be the earliest representations extant of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, Hui-nêng and other Ch'an masters ; and Bodhidharma's image, so smooth and so slight, differs greatly from the later massive and hairy and glowering monk who is his traditional form. Mr. Watanabe Hajime writes in the 'Bijutsu kenkyū' for September, 1934² of an early Sung dynasty scroll, illustrated with images of Ch'an masters, called 'Chuan Fa Chêng Tsung Ting Tzu T'u Chuan', or "An illustrated roll of the Dhyāna patriarchs who transmitted the Dharma (Law) according to the True Sect". Plate IX shows us a portion of the scroll with an image of Bodhidharma resembling the image in the long roll (Pl. I, Fig. 1 ; JISOA, vol. IV), far more closely than it does the usual traditional portrait of the Indian monk who played so important a role in Chinese Buddhism.

Unfortunately, the present writer has neither the time nor the qualifications to follow these stylistic and historical trails ; on the other hand, she is eager to pursue the iconography of the long roll to the end of her life. In the Introduction, she showed that Sung Buddhist iconography, aside from works inspired by the Ch'an spirit, is based on the iconography of T'ang. She listed the original documents in the way of paintings, etc., which remain for the study of T'ang and Sung Buddhist iconography, outlined the work already accomplished in this field and emphasized the need of carrying it further. She stressed the importance of correlating the vast amount of work done in the realm of Indian Tantric Buddhism with that done (for the most part by the Japanese) in the corresponding field in the Far East. Several special features which make the Palace Museum roll important were pointed out, for one, the inclusion of two images of the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana, whose worship existed at Tun-huang probably only in a rudimentary form. Of the many tens of Tantric divinities pictured in the long roll, some occur among the Tun-huang paintings and others do not ; and in more than one case, the image in the roll, is the only one of that particular divinity known. The image of Dharmapāramitā is the only one of which I know aside from the small figures in the 'maṇḍalas' of the Vajradhātu ; and images such as that of Avalokiteśvara as a dragon king, to cite only one of several, are not to be found elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge and

1. Although his name is mentioned neither in the 'Nan Chao t'u chuan' nor in that part of the 'Nan Chao yeh shih' which tells the story of his prophecy to the wife of Hsi-nu-lo, in the second section of the book, devoted to the description of the sights and marvels of the country, the author tells us of trees planted by P'u-t'i-pa-po, or Ta-yu Fa-shih, an Indian monk of the time of Ta Mêng (NOYS-Ch, 'chuan' 2, p. 90 b ; NOYS-Fr, pp. 196-7). We may have here a reference to the Indian monk of our roll and of the 'Nan Chao t'u chuan' and, consequently, a clue to his identity.

2. 'Bijutsu kenkyū', No. 33, September, 1934, pages 435-8, Plates IX and X. This scroll is owned by the Kanchi-in, a subsidiary of the Shingon temple Toji, in Kyoto.

belief. Many of the groups, such as the visit of Mañjuśrī to Vimalakīrti and the Avalokiteśvara, Saviour from Peril, present interesting parallels with other examples illustrating the same subjects.

A large number of the important divinities in the Chinese and Japanese pantheons are represented, with the strange omission of Amitābha Buddha. This blank is all the more remarkable when we consider that there are more than twenty representations of his Dhyāni Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is by far the most popular divinity in the roll. We remember, too, that the Indian monk who did so much toward the development of Buddhism in the country (Yünnan) and played so prominent a part in its history, was considered an incarnation of this divinity. We may well think that some of those missing sections contained an assemblage or paradise of Amitābha, comparable to that of Bhaisajyaguru, which is to be found in the roll.

After an explanation of the importance of the iconography of the painting, translations of the three of the inscriptions at the end were given, one by the monk Miao-kuang, who was a contemporary of the artist, one by Sung Lien, a scholar of the opening years of the Ming dynasty and the third by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the art connoisseur and patron of the 18th century. The last named inscription gives us the interesting history of the painting itself, how it was damaged by water, probably in a temple fire, how it was chopped up and made into an album and how it was finally remounted as a roll.

Following the inscriptions, come the notes made by the writer in Peiping during the winter of 1931-2, describing most of the divinities and assemblages depicted in the long roll. By means of an incomplete set of photographs which I have, I was able here and now to identify several additional divinities; and from the 'Nan Chao yeh shih', of whose existence I did not know in Peiping, I was able to establish the date of the painting (this discovery was made in New York in 1933) and to identify a number of the historical personages depicted in the painting. The notes are necessarily unsatisfactory and incomplete; and the writer desires not only to study the original painting over a considerable space of time and to acquire a complete set of photographs¹, add the missing images and verify her previous descriptions and identifications, but also to make a special study of each divinity, somewhat in the same way in which she studied Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara². In these studies, the writer would go more deeply into the significance of the images than has been possible in this paper. An adequate treatment of the long roll would require also an explanation of the aniconic symbols and their meaning, for example, the 'vajra', the wheel, the lotus throne, the conch, the fish, etc. In this connection, Dr. Coomaraswamy's book, 'Elements of Buddhist iconography', which the writer has only just read after the completion of this thesis, is of great importance. Not only is clear light thrown on the important symbols of the Tree (of Life—in Buddhism, the lotus stalk supporting the Buddha, as well as the Bodhi Tree), the Wheel and the Lotus Throne, but also it is shown that these symbols are from time immemorial (Vedic) and bring over into Buddhism their original values.

The writer is sensible of her shortcomings as a translator, and as an iconographer as well, not to speak of the difficulties of obtaining adequate tools with which to work and of working without the original painting, or even a complete set of photographs, before her. She would welcome corrections, additions, or suggestions, to be used with due acknowledgment in the more detailed study she hopes to make. Meanwhile, the fate of the painting itself is problematical, as I have said before; and I can really hope for nothing better than that this small effort of mine may stir someone who has the power to find out where the roll is and to preserve it to posterity in the Palace Museum in Peiping, or if, as is possible, it has already left that collection, in some other collection where it may be available for serious study.

1. The writer has made two attempts, one through Mrs. Dagny Carter, now in Peiping, and one through Mr. Yüan, of the National Library in that city, who is also an adviser to the Committee on Paintings of the Palace Museum, to secure a full set, both of which were unsuccessful. She has been unable to ascertain the present whereabouts of the long roll.

2. In the 'Ostasiatische Zeitschrift' (see bibliography).

TABLE OF NAMES AND TERMS IN SANSKRIT, CHINESE AND JAPANESE
IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

Sanskrit	Chinese ¹	Japanese
A		
Abhaya mudrā	Shih-wu-wei-yin	Semui-in
Acalanātha Vidyarāja	Pu-tung Ming-wang	Fudo Myō
Ādi-Buddha	A-t'i Fo	Adalbutsu
Ajātasātru	A-shē-shih Wang	Ajase-o
Ajita	A-shih-to	Aichita
Ākāśagarbha	Hsü-k'ung-tsang	Kokūzo
Akṣobhya	A-ch'u	Ashiku
Amitābha	O-mi-t'o	Amida
Amitāyus	Wu-liang-shou	Muryōju
Amoghapaśa	Pu-k'ung-chūan-so	Fukūkensaku
Amoghasiddhi	Pu-k'ung-ch'êng-chiu	Fukūjoju
Amoghavajra	Pu-k'ung-chin-kang	Fukūkongo
Amṛta	Kan-lu	Kanro
Ananda	A-nan (t'o)	Anan (da)
Aniruddha	A-na-lü or A-ni-lü-t'o	Anaritsu or Anairitta
Añjali mudrā	Ho-ch'üan yin	Gassho-in
Apsaras	T'ien-nü	Tennyō
Ardhanārīśvara	?	?
Ārhat	(A-) Lo-han	(A) Rakan
Ārya Kelikila	Chi-li-chi-lo Tsun	Keirikira Son
Asita	A-su-t'o	Ashida
Aṣṭottara-śata-bhūja Vajradhara	Chin-kang-tsang Wang P'u-sa	Kongozō Bosatsu
Asura	A-hsiu-lo	Ashura
Avalokiteśvara	Kuanyin or Kuan-shih-yin	Kwannon or Kwanzeon
B		
Bala	Lü or Po-lan	Riki or Baran
Bhādra	Po-t'o-lo	Badara
Bhadrāsana	?	?
Bhaiṣajyaguru Vaidūryaprabhāsa	Yao-shih Liu-li-kuang	Yakushi Rariko
Bhūmispārśa mudrā	Ch'u-ti yin	Sokuji-in
Bodhi	P'u-t'i	Bodal
Bodhicitta	P'u-t'i hsin	Bodaishin
Bodhidharma	P'u-t'i-ta-mo (often simply Ta-mo)	Bodaidaruma (often simply Daruma)
Bodhisattva	P'u-sa	Bosatsu
Bodyaṅga	P'u-t'i-fēn	Bodaibun
Brahmā	Fan T'ien	Bonten
Brahmin	Po-lo-mēn	Baramon
Buddha	Fo	Butsu
Buddhakula	Fo pu	Butsubu

1. The Chinese characters here and throughout the text and appendices had to be omitted for typographical reasons. The table of names and terms in Chinese with characters (including the labels inscribed on the painting) had also to be omitted (see however JISOA vol. IV, p. 16 note 2). Ed.

Sanskrit	Chinese	Japanese
C		
Cakra	Lun	Rin
Cakravartin	Chuan-lun-shêng-wang	Tenrinjoo
Candraprabha	Yüeh-kuang	Gwakko
Cintāmaṇi	Chên-to-mo-ni or Ju-i-chu	Shintamatsuni or Nyoishu or Nyoiju
Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara	Ju-i-lun Kuanyin	Nyoirin Kwannon
Cūḍa Panthaka	Chu-ch'a Pan-t'o-chia	Chūdakantaka
D		
Deva	T'ien	Ten
Dharma	Fa	Ho
Dharmacakra	Fa-lun	Horin
Dharmacakra mudrā	Shuo-fa yin	Seppo-in
Dharmakāya	Fa-shên	Hoshin
Dharmakṣema (Dharmarakṣa)	T'an-wu-ch'an	Dommushin
Dharmalakṣaṇa	Fa-hsiang	Hosso
Dharmapāramitā	Fa-po-lo-mi	Hoharamitsu
Dharmarakṣa		
(see under Dharmakṣema)		
Dhyāna	Ch'an(-na)	Zen (na)
Dhyānāsana (same as Vajrāsana, q. v.)		
Dhyāni Buddha (nirmita Buddha)	Hua-fo	Kebutsu
E		
Ekādaśamukha	Shih-i-mên	Juichimen
Ektéringa	I-chüeh hsien	Ikkaku sennin
G		
Gandharva	Ch'ien-t'a-p'o	Gendabba
Gapeśa	O-ni-aha or Huan-hsi T'ien	Ganisha or Gankiten
Garbhadhātu or Garbhakośadhātu	T'ai-tsang chieh	Taizokai
Garuḍa	Chia-lou-lo or Chin-ch'ih Niao-wang	Garura or Konjichoo
Ghaṭṭā	Ling	Suzu
Gṛdhrakūṭa giri	Chi-shò-chüeh Shan or Chiu fêng or Ling-chiu Shan	Gishhakutsu San Shûbo or Reishû Zan
Guhyapañca (see Pañcaguhya)		
H		
Hārītī	Ho-lo-ti or Kuei-tzu Mu	Kariti or Kishimojin (or Kishibojin)
Hayagrīva	Ma-t'ou Kuanyin	Bato Kwannon
Homa	Hu-mo	Goma
I		
Indra	Ti-shih T'ien	Taishakuten
Indriya	Wu kên	Gokon

Sanskrit	Chinese	Japanese
Ingada	Yin-chieh-t'o-lo	Ingatara
Iśvara	I-shou-lo T'ien	Ishuraten
K		
Kalika	Chia-li-chia	Karika
Kanaka Bharadvāja	Chia-no-chia Po-li-chien-shē	Kadakuka-batsuridajiya ?
Kanaka Vatsu	Chia-no-chia Fa-ts'o	Kadakuka-bassa ?
Kanakamuni	Chia-no-chia-mu-ni	Kadakamuni ?
Karma	Yeh or Chieh-lu-mo	Go or Katsuroma (?)
Karmakula	Chieh-mo pu	Katsumabu (?)
Kāśya	Chia-sha	Kesa
Kāśyapa	Chia-yeh	Kassho
Katyāyana	Chia-to-yen-na	Kataenna (?)
Kelikila	Ch'i-li-ch'i-lo or Ch'a Chin-kang	Keirikira or Soku Kongo
Ketumati	Ch'i-tu-mo-ti	Ketomatei
Kinnara or Kinnara	Chin-na-lo	Kinnara
Klesa	Fan-nao	Bonno
Krakucchanda	Chia-lo-chiu-ts'un-t'o	Karakusonda
Kṣitigarbha	Ti-tsang	Jizo
Kumārabbūta	Chên-t'ung or T'ung-tzu	Teido or Doji
Kumārājīva	Chiu-mo-lo-shih	Kumarashi
Kuṇḍali Vidyarāja	Chū-t'u-li Ming-wang	Gundari Myoo
Kuṇḍalini	?	?
Kuṇḍi or Kuṇḍika	Chūn-chih or Chūn-chih-chia	Gunji or Gunjika
Kuśa	Mao-tsao	Boso
L		
Lalitāsana or Lalita āsana	?	?
Lāṅkā	Lāng-ch'ieh	Roga (?)
M		
Mahā Mayūrī Vidyarājī	Ta K'ung-ch'iao Ming-wang	Dai Kujaku Myoo
Mahākaruṇā	Ta-pei	Daihi
Mahārāja	Ta Wang	Daio
Mahārājāliḥ	Ta Wang yū-hai (?)	Daioyūgi (?)
Mahārājāliḥāsana	?	?
Mahāsthāmaprāpta	Ta Shih-chih or Tē-ta-shih	Daisetsi or Tokudaisetsi
Mahāśūnya or Mahāśūnyata	Ta K'ung	Daikū
Mahoraga	Mo-hou-lo-ch'ieh or Mo-hsiu-lo	Makuraga (?) or Makuroku
Maitreya	Mi-lo or Tzu-shih	Miroku or Jishi
Maṇḍala	Man-t'u-lo	Mandara
Maṇikula	Pao pu or Mo-ni pu	Hobu or Manibu
Mañjuśrī	Wen-shu (-shih-li) or Miao-ch'i-hsiang or Miao-tē	Monju (shiri) or Myokichijo or Myotoku
Mantra	Chên-yen ; Mi-yen ; Mi-chou ; Mi-yū ; Chou-ming	Shingon ; Mitsugon ; Mitsuju ; Mitsugo ; Jumyo
Mantrayāna	Pi-mi shēng (ch'ēng)	Himitsujo
Manuṣa or Manuṣya	Mo-nu-sha	Manusha

Sanskrit	Chinese	Japanese
	N	
Māra	Mo-lo	Mara
Māricī devī	Mo-li-chih T'ien	Marishiten
Maudgalyayana	Mu-ch'ien-lien or Mo-tē-ch'ieh-lo	Bokugenren or Modogara
Māyā	Mo-yeh	Maya
Mudrā	Yin or Yin-ch'i or Mu-to-lo	In or Ingei or Motara
Mulādhāra	?	?
Nāga	Lung	Ryo, Ryū or Tatsu
Nāgarāja	Lung-wang	Ryoo
Nāgasena	Na-chia-hsü-na	Nagashuna (?)
Nāgī or Nāginī	Lung-nū	Ryūnyo
Nakula	No-chū-lo	Nakugura (?)
Namo	Nan-wu	Namu
Nanda	Nan-t'o	Nanda
Nirvāṇa	Nieh-p'an	Nehan
	O	
Om Mahāsukha	An Mo-ho-su-ch'ü (Ta Lo)	On Makasoko (?) (Tairaku)
	P	
Padma	Lien-hua	Renge
Padmakula	Lien-hua pu	Rengebu
Padmapāṇi	Lien-hua-shou	Rengeshū
Pañcagubhya	Wu pi-mi	Gohimitsu
Panthaka	P'an-t'o-chia	Kantaka
Pāramitā	Po-lo-mi	Haramitsu
Paryāṅkāśana	Chieh-chia tso	Kekkoza
Piṇḍola Bharadvāja	Pin-tu-lo Ch'i-lo-chien-shē	Binzuruharada (?)
Pingala	Ping-ch'ieh-lo or Ping-tē-lo	Hyokara ; Hyokara
Potalaka	P'u-t'o-lo-chia	Fudaraka
Prajñā	Chih-hui or Pan-jo	Chie or Hannya
Prajñāpāramitā	Pan-jo-po-lo-mi	Hannyaharamiten
Prajñāpāramitā sūtra	Pan-jo-po-lo-mi ching	Hannyaharamitsukyo
Puḍgala	Yu-ch'ing	Ujo
Pūrṇa	Pu-la-na	Furana
	R	
Rāhula	Lo-hu-lo	Rakura
Ratnasambhava	Pao-shēng	Hosho
Rṣi	Hsien (jen)	Sen (nin)
	S	
Sādhaka	Hsing-chē	Gyoja
Sādhana	Hsiu-hsing (practice)	Shūgyo
	I-kuei (rules)	Giki
Sādhanamālā	I-kuei	Giki
Sahasrabhujasahasranetra	Ch'ien-shou-ch'ien-yen	Senjusenzen
Śakti	Hou	Go
Śākyamuni	Shih-chia (-mu-ni)	Shaka (muni)
Śākyasiṃha	Shih-chia-shih-tzu	Shakashishi
Samādhi	San-ma-ti or Ting or San-mei	Sammaji or Jo or Sammai

Sanskrit	Chinese	Japanese
Samantabhadra	P'u-hsien	Fugen
Samantamukha	P'u-mên	Fumon
Samantamukha parivarta	P'u-mên p'in	Fumonhin
Sankha Rāja	Jang-ch'ü Wang	Joka-o (?)
Sāriputra	Shê-li-fu-to-lo or Shê-li tsu	Shariputara or Shariko
Śarira	Shê-li	Shari
Siddhārtha	Hsi-ta-to	Shidata (?)
Sikhī	Shih-yeh	Shiyo
Śiva	Shih-p'o (little used) or Tzu-tsai	Shūba or
	T'ien or Mo-hsi-shou-la	Jizaiten or Makeishura
	(Mahēśvara)	
Śrāvastī	Shih-lo-fa-hsi-ti	Shirabashital (?)
Śrī Mahādevī	Ch'i-hsiang T'ien	Kichijoten
Stūpa	Shuai-tu-po or T'a	Sotoba or To
Subhakra or Subhakarasiṃha	Shu-po-chia-lo or Shan-wu-wei	Shubakara or Zemmui
Subhūti	Su-pu-ti or Hsü-p'u-t'i	Sobutai (?) or Shūbodai
Subhinda	Su-p'o-t'o	Sobada (?)
Suddhodana	Ching-fan Wang	Jobonno
Sumeru	Hsü-mi (-lou)	Shūmi (ro)
Sūryaprabha	Jih-kuang	Nikko
Sūtra	Ching	Kyo
Svapāka	Hsü-po-chia	Shuhaka (?)
Svara	Yin	On
T		
Tantra (scriptures) (doctrine)	Pi-mi-pên-hsü, Pi-mi chiao	Himitsu honzoku, Himitsu kyo
Tārā	T'o-lo or To-lo	Tara, Tara
Trailokyavijaya mudrā	Hsiang-san-shih yin	Gosanze-in
Tripiṭaka	San tsang	Sanzo
U		
Ugra	Mōng-jan (?)	?
Ullambana (Prākṛt ; Sanskrit form, Avalambana)	Yü-lan-pên	Uranbon
Umā	Wu-ma Fei	Umahi
Upali	Yu-po-li	Upari
Upananda	Wu-po-nan-t'o or Pai-nan-t'o	Upananda
Uṣṇīṣa	Mei-chien-pai-hao hsiang	Miken byakugoso
Uṣṇīṣa	Wu-sê-ni-sha	Ushunisha
Utpala	Yu-po-lo or Ch'ing lien-hua or Tzu lien-hua	Upara or Seirengo or Shirengo
V		
Vāhana	Ch'êng-yü	Jogo
Vairocana	Pi-lu-chê-na or Ta jih	Birochana or Birushana or Dainichi
Vaiśravaṇa	P'i-sha-mên T'ien or To-wên	Bishamonten or Tamonten
Vajra	Chin-kang	Kongō

Sanskrit	Chinese	Japanese
Vajrabodhi	Chin-kang-p'u-t'i	Kongobodai
Vajradhātu	Chin-kang chieh	Kongokai
Vajragarbha	Chin-kang-tsang	Kongozo
Vajrahūkara	?	?
Vajrakula	Chin-kang pu	Kongobu
Vajramañjāla	Chin-kang man-t'u-lo	Kongomandara
Vajrāṅkuṣa	Chin-kang-kou or Chin-kang-chu-t'ou T'ien	Kongoko or Kongochozuten
Vajrapāṇi	Chin-kang-shou or Chin-kang-chih	Kongoshū, Kongoshū
Vajraputra	Fa-shē-fa-to-lo	Bajarahotara
Vajrasana	Chieh-chia tao	Kekkoza
Vajrasattva	Chin-kang-sa-t'o	Kongosatta
Vajrayakṣa	Chin-kang-yeh-ch'a	Kongoyasha
Vajrayāna	Chin-kang Shêng (Ch'êng)	Kongojo
Vanavāsi	Fa-na-p'o-su	
Varadā mudrā	Shih-yūan yin	Segwanin
Vīja mantra	Chung-tzu	Shuji
Vimalakīrti	Wei-mo	Yuima
Vināyaka	Pi-na-yeh-chia	Binayaka
Vipaśyī	Pi-po-shih	Bibashi (f)
Vīrādharma	Tseng-chang T'ien	Jochoten
Vīrya	Ching-chin	Shojin
Viṣṇu	P'i-niu or Na-lo-yen	Biju or Narayen
Viśvabhā	Pl-shih-po-pu	Bishubabu
Vitarka mudrā	An-wei yin ¹	Ani-in (f)
Y		
Yakṣa	Yeh-ch'a or Yao-ch'a	Yasha or Yakusha
Yantra ²		
Yoga	Yü-ch'ieh or Hsiu-hsi	Yuga or Shūju
Yogācāra or Yogācārya	Yü-ch'ieh Tsung	Yugashu
Yoni	Yin-mên	Inmon

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1. The Chinese characters for 'an-wei' mean "consolation" and are thus not a translation of 'vitarka'. As the picture of the 'an-wei yin' given on Plate 17 (opposite page 176) in the 'Bukkyo daijiten' agrees with the description of the 'vitarka mudrā' given by Bhattacharyya, 'Indian Buddhist iconography', page 193, however, we may accept 'an-wei yin' as the Chinese term for 'vitarka mudrā'. It may be noted also that the 'dharmaśakra mudrā' is called in Chinese, not 'chuan-fa-lun yin', as we might expect, but 'shuo-fa yin', see *supra*.

2. I know of no transliteration or translation of this term; the phrase 'Chin-kang-man-t'u-lo', 'Kongomandara', the equivalent of 'Vajramañjāla', seems to be used also as the equivalent of 'yantra'.

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A NEW BODHISATTVA AND A BACCHANALIAN GROUP FROM MATHURĀ

by V. S. AGRAWALA

The great school of sculpture that flourished at Mathurā during the early centuries of the Christian era is already well known by its numerous specimens consisting of images, sculptured panels, architectural pieces and terra-cottas of a high order. The sculptors of Mathurā took their cue from the ancient art schools of Sāñci and Bhārhut for the symbols, decorative motives, and patterns of architecture. They also vigorously assimilated the foreign art forms assembled in the phenomenal culture complex brought about by the introduction of the Iranian and Hellenistic elements into Indian life. The ancient indigenous art heritage was carried forward with an exceptionally prolific enrichment of its contents by the artists of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa epoch.

About two and a half miles to the south-west of Mathurā city is situated the ancient village of Madhuvan-Maholi. About two furlongs outside the Maholi village towards Mathurā city is a group of old mounds of considerable dimensions.

Recently, in the first week of July 1938, an image of colossal size came to light from one of the above mounds (Pl. XX, Fig. 1). The leg stumps disclosing themselves first to view led to the eventual discovery of the whole statue by the villagers. It was subsequently taken possession of on behalf of the Government and removed to the Mathurā Museum. The height of the image from the feet to the head is 8'-3" or in all 9'-6" including the tenon by which it was at one time fixed in its brick pedestal. The image is carved in the round and made of the spotted red sand stone of Mathurā. The right hand which was most probably held in the attitude of protection ('abhayamudrā') is broken away. The left hand holds the drapery at the waist. The figure is draped in the Buddha's usual 'tri-civara',

fx



2



1



3

leaving the right shoulder bare, with the lower garment reaching down to a little below the knee-joint, held at the waist by a knotted girdle. Between the feet there is a prominent cluster of lotus buds surmounting a coiled lotus garland. On the exterior side of the left leg is a dwarf Aśoka tree. The head of the Buddha is of the 'shaven' type. The 'uṣṇīṣa' protuberance is broken away leaving a shallow depression in the skull. There is a faint 'ūrṇā' dot between the eye-brows, and the earlobes are prominently elongated. There are also traces of a halo at the back.

An adequate idea of the style and appearance of the new discovery can be had by making a reference to the well-known colossal Bodhisattva statue found at Sārnāth (ht. 9'-5") which is inscribed in the year 3 of Kaniṣka and was established at the place of the Buddha's 'caṅkrama' at Vārāṇasī by friar Bala, who was most probably a resident of Mathurā.¹ A similar free standing colossal Bodhisattva statue of Mathurā red sand stone was discovered by General Cunningham during 1862-63 from the ruins of ancient Śrāvastī in Gonda district which is also inscribed and was established by the same Bhikṣu Bala, a master of the Tripiṭaka.² General Cunningham felt satisfied that the Śrāvastī colossus must have been transported from Mathurā. (Arch. Survey Report Vol. I, page 339). Thus a family likeness between these three colossal Bodhisattva images is established.

Unlike the other two statues the Maholi Bodhisattva bears no inscription either on the pedestal or on the main body of the image. But a search for the broken pedestal brought to light a piece of stone (10" × 4") bearing four lines of Brāhmī inscription which was found sticking in mud to the pedestal at its side. It is dated in the year 92 and states that a monk named Grahadāsika, resident of the Khaṇḍa Vihāra monastery "established" in the stūpa, the object so established being left unspecified in the epigraph. But there seems little doubt that the inscription referred to the statue with which it has remained associated under the earth for so long a time. The name of the reigning king is not given, but referring the year to the Śaka era of 78 A. D. the inscription would belong to 170 A. D. which coincides with the reign of the Kuṣāṇa Emperor

1. Catalogue of Sārnāth Museum No. B (a) 1; plate VII.

2. Buddhist statue from Śrāvastī by Dr. Theodor Bloch, J. A. S. B., 1898, Pt. I, pages 274-290.

Vāsudeva. Although stylistically the Sārnāth and the Maholi statues form part of one independent group they are separated from each other by a period of 89 years. The date of the Śrāvastī statue is unfortunately lost, and it is not possible to say by how much time it was separated from the other two images. In the Museum at Mathurā there are three other Bodhisattva statues, A. 40, A. 41, and A. 63, which are similar in style to the Maholi Bodhisattva and must be assigned to the same group. The image No. A. 63 (ht. 6'-4") from Lākhnau, district Aligarh, is dated in the year 35 of Huiṣka. It is thus evident that the style of making colossal free standing Bodhisattva images inaugurated by the Sārnāth Bodhisattva in the year 3 of Kaniṣka continued throughout the Kuṣāṇa period down to the reign of the last king Vāsudeva. This type of the indigenous Buddha image is akin to the colossal Yakṣa statue from Parkham, in which no affinities with the Gandhāra Buddhas and Bodhisattvas can be traced. It is both in its plastic language and conception completely a product of the Mathurā school.

The inscriptions on the Sārnāth and Śrāvastī statues make reference to the post and umbrella ('daṇḍa' and 'chattra') set up with the main statues. No such details are available in the short Maholi epigraph, but the Bodhisattva was certainly crowned by a large parasol which was square and not circular like the one at Sārnāth. A fragment of this parasol carved with the same symbols as at Sārnāth (four of which namely the lotus garland, fruit vase, svastika and pūrṇaghaṭa have survived) has been discovered. (Pl. XX, Fig. 2).

A search for the pedestal of the Bodhisattva statue led to another still more important discovery at a distance of about 6 feet from the original site of the Bodhisattva.

A new Bacchanalian group (Pls. XXI-XXII).

This is a sculpture carved on both sides, measuring 3'-4" × 2'-6" × 1'-2". It supported a bowl, now partially damaged, resting on the top of the trunk of a tree carved in the background. On the obverse side there are four figures, the middle one showing a graceful female in half kneeling posture. She is evidently intoxicated, and her left hand finds rest on the shoulders of a girlish figure holding a drinking cup, and the right one is held by a standing male figure, obviously her husband, who supports her.



Handwritten signature or mark.

The fourth figure on the left side carved in the background and shown in the attitude of 'vismaya' represents a female attendant. She is apparently a hermaphrodite as seen from her undeveloped breasts, masculine shoulders, and hips. Such attendants under the appellations of 'śandha' and 'varṣadhara' were employed in royal harems (Pl. XXII).

On the reverse side there is a scene involving four figures in a joyous dance (Pl. XXI).

The whole group bears the class name "Bacchanalian" ('madhupāna') and is a valuable addition to the already known specimens of this type from Mathurā, namely Stacy's Silenus group found in 1836 from Mathurā and now in the Calcutta Museum, and the well known Palikhera group, in the Mathurā Museum No. C. 2. The present sculpture is in excellent preservation and reveals an unknown standard of achievement of the Mathurā artists during the Kuṣāṇa period. In the Maholi group the dress and the features of the male and female figures that make up the group on the two sides are purely Indian and do not betray a clumsy mixture of Greek and Indian elements as in the other Mathurā groups previously found. The interest of this find is enhanced by the fact that a somewhat mutilated specimen carved on both sides and similar to this group was found from Naroli village, about half a mile south-east of Maholi in 1922-23, and is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹

It may also be stated that an exact copy of the reverse side of the Maholi Bacchanalian group is reproduced in the upper panel of a jamb fragment (No. 371, Mathurā Museum) which was rescued from the well of the famous Kankali Tila in 1914, which place also lies within a radius of two miles from Maholi (Pl. XX, 3). The three villages Maholi, Palikhera and Naroli situated within less than a mile of each other, have each produced a remarkable Bacchanalian group of its own.

The Maholi Bacchanalian group unearthed at a distance of about 6 feet from the Bodhisattva statue and from about the same level, must have stood inside the temple of the Khaṇḍa Vihāra monastery. Since the circumstances of its find are known with such absolute certainty it may not be unwarranted to interpret the intended purpose of setting up a Bacchanalian group inside a Buddhist shrine in the heart of a Buddhist

1. Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1922-23, page 161, plate XXXVIII (b).

monastery. The Bacchanalian group stands for the sensuous and material side of life symbolising the pleasures that overflow the bowl of life which these groups invariably depict. The Buddha on the other hand represents the ascetic ideals of internal peace attained by self mastery and his defeat of Māra, the genius of worldly temptations. After the Buddha's victory and final enlightenment Māra pays homage at the feet of the great teacher, which according to the beautiful synthetic ideals of the Mahāyāna Buddhism represented a lasting compromise between the life of the world and the life of restraint preached by the Buddha, both of which were consequently enshrined under a common roof inside the same religious edifice. It was this ideal which inspired the works of the Kuṣāṇa artists and which found its most suitable expression in the line of the poet :

प्राप्तो गृहस्थैरपि मोक्षमार्गः ।



A MINIATURE REPLICA OF THE MAHĀBODHI TEMPLE

by BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR.

In the course of a visit to Delhi in 1933, I purchased a small soapstone model of a temple (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1-4). Its general arrangement with a central spire flanked by four smaller replicas at the angles immediately suggests the elevation of the Mahābodhi temple at Gayā (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1), a suggestion which is confirmed by the presence of a sculptured likeness of the Bodhi Tree at one end of the building; this tree is placed on the platform of the high basement, its branches attached to two of the encircling towers.¹ It is my intention to show the importance of this replica and a similar one in the British Museum (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 3) as a means of determining the age and restoring the original appearance of the great temple at Bodh-Gayā. Almost certainly the model in the writer's collection is of the Pāla period as a comparison of the carving of the Buddha and the reliefs of his life with Pāla steles will readily demonstrate (cf. Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2). The replica in the British Museum is presumably of the same date.

We may begin our investigation of these models and their importance for the history of the Bodh-Gayā temple by examining Hsüan-tsang's description of the Mahābodhi temple.²

"To the East of the Bodhi tree is a vihāra about 160 or 170 feet high.

1. Other models of the temple exist and have been published by Sir A. Cunningham, 'Mahābodhi', London, 1880, Pl. XVI and by R. D. Banerji, 'The East Indian School of Medieval Sculpture,' 'ASI,' Imperial Series, 1933, p. 148 etc.; Grünwedel, A., 'Buddhist Art in India,' London, 1900, p. 180, fig. 128; two more models including replicas not only of the temple but of the enclosure and other buildings in the precinct—have been published in 'JBORS,' xxiii, 1, March, 1937 (Plates opposite p. 17) and by C. E. A. W. Oldham, "Some remarks on the models of the Bodh-Gayā temple found at Narthang" 'JBORS,' Dec., 1937, xxiii, 4, p. 418.

The enormous popularity of small models as souvenirs of famous shrines is demonstrated by the large numbers of such replicas that have been found in Tibet. On the subject of the 'ts'a-ta'a', see Tucci, G., 'Indo-Tibetica', I, Rome, 1932, p. 55 f.

2. Beal, S., 'Buddhist records of the Western World', London, 1906, p. 118.

Its lower foundation-wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building (pile) is of blue tiles (bricks) covered with chunam ; all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures. The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work ; in one place figures of stringed pearls (garlands), in another figures of heavenly Rishis. The whole is surrounded (sic.) by a gilded copper amalaka fruit.¹ The eastern face adjoins a storied pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one over the other to the height of three distinct chambers ; its projecting eaves, its pillars, beams, doorways, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamental work, with pearls and gems let in to fill up interstices. Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys. To the right and left of the outside gate are niches like chambers ; in the left is a figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, and in the right a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver, and are about 10 feet high."

We are able to identify in the small replica elements mentioned by Hsüan-tsang. The "figures of stringed pearls (garlands)" are present ; to the right and left of the entrance at the East are figures in niches, presumably those of the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1) ; "the gilt-bronze amalaka" surmounting the tower is certainly recognizable.² "The eastern face adjoins a storied pavilion, the projecting eaves of which rise one over the other to the height of three distinct chambers—Its sombre chambers and mysterious halls have doors in each of the three storeys" ; this is an accurate account of the arrangement visible in the models and in the temple even as it is reconstructed today.

There is some question as to the validity of the so-called Kumrahar plaque as a means of restoring the original appearance of the Mahābodhi temple.³ The fact that the principal statue represented in it is in 'abhaya mudrā' is against identifying it as the 'vihāra' at Bodh-Gayā ; it might more

1. "Above, amalaka fruit is placed" is the literal translation of the text.

2. Beal translates, "The whole is surrounded (sic.) by a gilded copper amalaka fruit". An examination of the Chinese text will show that he obviously meant "surmounted" instead of "surrounded". The statues are described as "silver" ; presumably they were stone covered with silver leaf ; in his description of Bāmiyān the pilgrim speaks of one of the colossi as made of metal, whereas obviously it was a gilded image of stone and stucco.

3. Coomaraswamy, A. K., 'History of Indian and Indonesian Art', New York, 1927, Fig. 62.

likely be the great tower at Nālandā or the building at Sārnāth described by Hsüan-tsang.¹ What appears to be an arch in the model at Patna is most likely a representation of a niche and cannot itself be taken as proof of the existence of a vaulted structure in Gupta times.² Cunningham found the remains of the Nālandā temple to correspond fairly closely to the tower at Gayā; he assigns both of them to the first century B. C., although the date of certain repairs to the porch of the Nālandā temple, c. 500-600 A. D., would seem a more logical dating for both of these famous shrines.³ Actually the Nālandā temple was built by Narasimha Balāditya (467-473 A. D.); Hsüan-tsang specifically comments on its resemblance to the Mahābodhi shrine.

The replicas of the temple in the British Museum and in the author's possession agree in showing an unvaulted entrance and a chamber opening from the second storey; the former model has an approximate representation of an arched opening; the latter, only a plain doorway. The Nar-thang and British Museum replicas suggest what is apparent in the old photographs of the Mahābodhi temple (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1) that it originally had a great corbelled arch opening into the upper chamber as in the Pāla shrines at Konch and Boram.⁴ The object in London, indeed, seems to indicate the lancet-shaped doorway of the cella, and, in front of this, a suggestion of the true arch with voussoirs that was still intact before the restorations of 1880-81 (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1). It is quite impossible that the corbelled niche of the Gayā 'vihāra' is a subsequent addition, and so we must conclude that this type of construction was known before the Pāla temples mentioned

1. Beal, p. 173; "To the north of this vihāra is a great vihāra, in height about 300 feet, which was built by Balāditya-rājā. With respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great vihāra built under the Bodhi tree"; p. 45 (Sārnāth), "In the enclosure is a vihāra 200 feet high; above the roof is a golden-covered figure of the Amra fruit. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of brick. The niches are arranged on the four sides in a hundred successive lines, and in each niche is a golden figure of Buddha. In the middle of the vihāra is a figure of Buddha...and he is represented as turning the wheel of the law".

R. D. Banerji believes that the great temple at Gayā was built under Dharmapāla and Devapāla (loc. cit., p. 148); he points out that the Patna plaque shows the Buddha statue in 'abhaya mudrā'; it will be seen that in our replica the image in the niche is in 'bhūmisparśa mudrā', obviously the gesture related to the Enlightenment and to Bodh-Gayā. Cf. Banerji, p. 147.

2. For examples of Pre-Islamic vaults in India, see Coomaraswamy, p. 73, n. 4.

3. Cunningham, Gen'l Sir A., 'ASIE', III, 100 f.; Mitra, R., 'Buddha Gayā', Calcutta, 1878, pp. 246-247.

4. See Banerji, Pl. 83b and 85b.

above; in fact, the models seem to confirm the dating of the building in the Gupta period.¹

In support of the early date of the vaults in the Mahābodhi temple, there are numbers of examples of brick vaulting without centering in Turkestan and Afghanistan, a form of construction which these regions share with Sasanian Iran, although, at present, there is no means of determining in what part of Middle Asia this building method had its origin.² A structure with this same type of vaulting was found by Grünwedel at Turfān and dated seventh century by him although, most likely, it is even earlier.³ Another vault constructed with voussoirs of sun-dried brick is in a temple at Teppe Marendjan, Kabul: it can be dated fourth century A. D. from the coins of Sasanian origin found in the ruins. It is further significant that the Ānanda temple at Pagan (1005-1107 A. D.), manifestly a "copy" of the Mahābodhi shrine, contains vaults of this "Iranian" type.⁴ A Siamese derivative of the Bodh-Gayā tower, Wat Cet Yot (Bodhārāma) at C'heng Mai, is also vaulted in this same un-Indian manner.⁵

The actual revetment of the 'prāsāda', however, as seen in the monument itself and its miniature copies, consisted of 'chaitya' arches separated by engaged pillars and is closely related to the architectural decoration of the 'stūpas' discovered in Nālandā; the latter may be approximately eighth century or slightly later.⁶ It seems probable, therefore, that, although the actual structure of the temple remained unchanged, it was refaced at some time during the reign of the Pāla Dynasty.

Various episodes from the life of Buddha are represented on the model in the author's possession. On the north side is the Birth, reduced, as on Pāla steles, to the figure of Māyā under the 'śāl' tree (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 4). The 'Parinirvāṇa' is placed above the entrance at the East end; below the bier of the dying Śākyamuni are three mourners and above, a small

1. It seems rather difficult to account for the discrepancies in regard to the arches between this model and the one in my collection, unless we wish to assume that in very small replicas of this sort the craftsmen did not concern themselves with exact copying of architectural details that would have had little interest for their patrons.

2. General du Beyllé, 'Promé et Samarra', Paris, 1907, p. 97.

3. Ibid., fig. 71.

4. General du Beyllé, 'Architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient', Paris, 1907, p. 264.

5. Claeys, J. Y., "L'archéologie du Siam", 'BEFEO', 1931, p. 441, fig. 62, Pl. XCV, Pl. XCIX B.

6. 'Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology', 1928, p. 20, Pl. VII.

'stūpa'; this again corresponds to the iconography of the Pāla workshops (cf. Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1 and Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2) and fixes the date of the model. At the south-east corner is a panel which, judging from the smaller stature of one of the two figures, may represent the monkey's offering at Vaiśālī, a scene that enjoyed great popularity in the Pāla school (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2).

Probably these details of the carving are to be considered in connection with the little figure of Gautama inside the West side of the building (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 3) as forming a series of four events from the life of the founder of Buddhism—or representations of images commemorating these events at the actual sites in the same way that these subjects, making up a sort of map of the holy sites of Buddhist India, are represented on the steles of the Pāla School (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2).¹ They are almost certainly not meant to suggest the actual disposition of any such reliefs on the actual building but to add to the merit of the model by including these famous events from Buddha's life.

M. Mus regards the Mahābodhi temple and others—like the great temple at Khajurāho—which have smaller replicas of the main tower arranged around the central member as concrete time-and-space diagrams. The four lesser spires symbolize the Four Jinas of the various 'kalpas' when each one was in the world; each tower is therefore "dated" as well as standing for one of the cardinal points in space. They may be regarded as satellites that revolve around a planet—that is, the central tower which, as the central point of the 'maṇḍala', would stand for Vairocana. The same concept of horizontal as well as vertical extension in space is given as in the Sārnāth column where the planets and rivers on the plinth furnish points in space and time on the "horizontal" plane; the pillar or axis portrays the fifth direction or the zenith. Just as the mansions of the zodiac are the halting places of the sun at twelve points in the year, these replicas or Jinas around the main spire represent the same Buddha as manifest at various points and times.

According to M. Mus the Bodh-Gayā temple represents a material symbol of the Five Mānuṣi Buddhas; the four angle towers that reproduce

1. Cf. Mus, P., "Le Buddha paré", 'BEFEO', 1928.

The same concept is already developed in certain late Gandhāra reliefs found at Paitava in Afghanistan.

the central spire stand for the four quarters and at the same time for the various Buddhas who ruled over these directions at various periods in the world's history ; the whole monument becomes thereby what M. Mus calls a "chronogram"—a materialized diagram of universal time and space.¹

It is of course impossible to tell from the actual remains at Gayā whether or not the four sides of the main tower were dedicated to the Four Jinas or whether they were represented on the four subsidiary towers.² The Five Jinas may best be regarded as personifications of the supramundane elements of the 'Dharmakāya.' The niches on the four sides of the stūpa held these transcendental components of the 'Dharmakāya' which the stūpa itself enclosed as a soul within an "architectural" body.³ The Five Jinas, of course, proceed from the 'Dharmakāya'; they might be regarded as five electric light bulbs of different colours but all illuminated by the same "current",—the 'Dharmakāya'. The copy of the Mahābodhi temple at Sirkip had images of Buddhas in 'dhyāni mudrā' in the niches on each of its four sides.⁴ That such material portrayals of the 'Dharmakāya' in its power of transmutation were known at a fairly early date is indicated in a Chinese record of Kaniska's 'vihāra' at Peshawar ;⁵ in 518 A. D. (Shin Kuei—1), the monks Ching Shang and Sung Wen had a bronze copy made of "the pagoda of Śākyamuni's four transformations".⁶

Beal's translation of the passage from the account of Sung Yün's travels is as follows : "(Hwei Sang) employed a skilful artist to depict on copper the Tsioh-li pagoda and also the four principal pagodas of

1. Mus, P., 'Barabudur', Hanoi, 1935, pp. 376-377, 383.

2. Some of the small votive 'stūpas' in the grove north of the Mahābodhi temple have images of Buddha in different attitudes on their various faces, an evident indication that such maṇḍalas of the 'Jinas' of the Quarters were known and probably inspired by the iconographical arrangement of the Great temple.

3. Mus, p. 591. This is not the place to enter into the very difficult and tedious question as to what 'sūtras' feature various sets of Jinas ; suffice it to say that the most popular group are mentioned as early as the 'Saddharma Puṇḍarīka'. Only much later, as in the four paradises of Horyūji, were different deities substituted for the original members of the group.

4. Stein, Sir M. A., 'Innermost Asia', London, 1931, figs. 316-317.

5. Sung Yün's "Record of the temples of Loyang" ('Lo-yang k'ie lan ki', Taisho, no. 2002), Chapter 5.

6. Omura's remark that this was the beginning of the practice of representing Buddhas on the four faces of pagodas is inaccurate ; obviously much earlier examples are known ; e. g., in the Yün Kang grottoes. (See Omura, S., 'Shina Bijutsushi Chosohen', Tokyo, 1916, p. 213).



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Śākyamuni".¹ The latter part of this rendering is rather free for 'Che-Kia ssu t'a pien'. What this probably refers to is not the "four principal pagodas of Śākyamuni", but to what we may imagine to have been a stūpa enclosing the network of pearls from the great pagoda that had "on each side sitting figures (of Buddha) of the same height".² This monument, the text relates, stood only a short distance from the main building and it seems to me that it is more reasonable that it is this that the pilgrim had copied. There is no reason why we should expect to find "the four principal pagodas of Śākyamuni" at Peshawar.³ Some such arrangement as that at Borobudur where the Jinas in four attitudes of Śākyamuni are represented on the four sides of the monument is intended. The actual remains of the great tower at Shah-jī-kī-dherī revealed images of Buddhas in 'dhyāni mudrā' on each of the four sides. Was it ever the convention to represent these emanations of Śākyamuni with identical 'mudrās' in every case? The testimony of the ruins at Peshawar and Sirkip would almost lead us to this conclusion. It was only later that the Five Jinas were shown in the five most distinctive attitudes of Buddha.⁴

A late copy of the Mahābodhi temple the Wu T'a ssu, has images of the Five Jinas on its four sides and on the central spire, an arrangement corresponding to the 'maṇḍala' of the Buddhas of the five directions (the four quarters and the zenith) at Borobudur.⁵ Certainly some sort of a cosmic diagram was intended by the Mahābodhi temple as originally built. Its pyramidal shape and Hsüan-tsang's mention of the carvings of 'deva-ṛṣis' ('t'ien hsien')⁶ suggest that possibly an architectural construction of Mt.

1. Beal, p. cv. 'Taisho Issaikyo', LI, p. 1021, 3, Lines 13-14.

2. Ibid. The character 'pien' specifically means a "transformation" of a Buddha.

3. "Śākyamuni four transformation stūpa", as far as I can see, has nothing to do with the 'ssu t'a', the Four Stūpas marking the Four Great Events in Buddha's life, but refers rather to the placing of images of four Jinas on the four faces of the monument; it is in this latter sense that the passage has been interpreted by Omura Seigai who said that with the introduction of this model the custom of making pagodas with representations of the four Buddhas began in China.

4. Mus., p. 594.

5. Mus., pp. 376-377 and 383 and Combaz, G., "L'Évolution du Stūpa en Asie", 'Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques', II, 1932-33, Brussels, 1933, p. 280, fig. 53. There are free copies of the Mahābodhi temple at Pagan and Patan; these, however, cast little light on the problem in hand. (Cf. Combaz, fig. 32 and p. 234).

6. The 'deva-ṛṣis' were among the creatures inhabiting the slopes of Mt. Meru

Meru was intended, although the usual features of such microcosms of the world as the enveloping ranges of the Cakravala are not recognizable. Hsüan-tsang mentions only golden images in the niches of the storied temple; he says nothing definite about Buddha statues. On the shrine in my collection, however, there are carved Buddhas in 'dharmacakra', 'bhūmisparśa', and 'dhyāni mudrā': this is almost certainly an attempt on the craftsman's part to suggest the presence of the Jinas of the Five Directions on the temple in Pāla times.

In Central Asia are a number of "copies" of the Bodh-Gayā temple. I follow previous investigators in referring to these shrines as "copies" because they are built in the form of a tapering spire with niches on each storey. None of them correspond to the architectural replicas of Mt. Meru that we know from examples in Burma and Indonesia; these latter buildings regularly have seven floors reproducing the courses of the planets around the cosmic mountain; they are almost invariably built in the form of a ziggurat or stepped pyramid.¹ The temples at Astana and Sirkip have respectively five and six storeys; on the four sides are niches filled originally with images of Buddhas.² The former is called "Tai-san" (perhaps "Great Mountain"?) although this appears on the surface to be a modern soubriquet applied by the natives from its appearance rather than any remembered connection with Mt. Meru. The niches of the temple at Sirkip were once populated by Buddhas, all of them in 'dhyāni mudrā'; presumably they were to be interpreted as magic symbols of the various stages of trance drawing the worshipper to the top of the tower where the upper formless worlds of pure ideas were represented by the superposed umbrellas.

They are not Meru symbols in the usual sense and yet they are cosmograms in that Meru is the centre of every world and the Buddha's Enlightenment must metaphysically be conceived as taking place at the Pole or centre of the world system; his activity is always the centre of the

1. The actual cosmic Meru has five planes inhabited by the Nāgas, Garuḍas, Dānavas and Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, and the Four Guardian Kings in ascending order. See Mus, pp. 355-356.

2. Grünwedel, A., "Bericht über arch. Arbeiten in Idykutschari," *Abh. K. bair. Ak. Wiss.*, München, 1906, figs. 43-46; Stein, loc. cit.

vast time and space mechanism which is the cosmos.¹ And so even an architectural representation of the stages of sublime 'samādhi' would properly be symbolized by the world mountain that ordinarily serves to show various planes of existence up and down the axis that pierces Mt. Meru.

As a concrete image of Buddha's Enlightenment we would expect to find symbolized the stages of his 'samādhi'; it seems that this may be indicated by the eight storeys marked by the 'āmalaka' quoins plus the finial consisting of a large 'āmalaka' member; these planes would symbolize the cognition of the four 'dhyānas', the four realms beyond form, and the final 'āmalaka' would represent the 'samādhi' beyond sensation and thought. It will be noted that 'āmra' is used to designate the ninth of the nine kinds of discernment (vijñāna) and that this may have dictated the use of this form as an architectural member.² These stages of 'dhyāna' of course parallel the cosmic diagram of the four realms of material forms ('rūpadhātu') and the four formless worlds ('arūpadhātu') and 'naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatana', the land of neither consciousness nor unconsciousness. Something of the sort survives in Tibetan stūpas in which the bulbous dome symbolizes the seven branches of illumination ('bodhyaṅga'); the eight 'mārgas' or noble paths are represented in the pinnacles of these Lamaist structures.³ The Mahābodhi temple was not a stūpa properly speaking; it did not, as far as we know, harbour any specific relic other than the famous statue supposedly executed by the Bodhisattva Maitreya. It was erected to memorialize the Buddha's Enlightenment and might thereby be regarded as a material symbol of his sublime 'samādhi'; its pyramidal ('prāsāda') shape immediately suggests the architectural Mt. Meru that was so popular in Southeastern Asia; the various 'bhūmis' stand for the degrees of Buddha's trance; the crowning 'āmalaka' stands for

1. In the 'Lalitā-Vistara' the Enlightenment is already conceived as a vast 'maṇḍala' with thousands of Bodhisattvas in as many worlds participating in the Buddha's activity. See Foucaux, P. E., 'Le Lalitā-vistara', 'Ann. du Musée-Guimet', 6, Paris, 1894, ch. xix.

2. 'Āmalakas' are used to indicate various levels of reference on the world pillars represented on the reliefs of Amarāvati. Cf. Coomaraswamy, A. K., 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography', Cambridge, 1935, figs. 2 and 3; M. Mus ('Barabudur', 'BEFEO', 1934, p. 928) suggests that the seven or nine storeys of 'prāsādas' symbolize the hierarchy of "spheres" traversed by the Buddha at birth or the levels which he "magically" promenaded in his 'caṅkrama'.

3. Tucci, G., 'Indo-Tibetica', I, Rome, 1932, p. 41.

the 'arūpadhātu'—it is the lotus-womb of sky, the sun door or entrance to the heavens of higher bliss. The great temple at Borobudur likewise has nine storeys terminating in the great 'stūpa' at the top and is regarded as a microcosm symbolizing the stages of the ecstasies of 'dhyāna' in these superposed planes.

Like the 'stūpa' this 'vihāra' must be thought of as built around the axis or pole that "emerges" at the top to support the higher worlds of the gods; the 'āmalaka' at the top really takes the place of the 'harmikā' on the stūpa; the axis pierces it, so that one may think of it not only as a stage or 'bhūmi' but also as the "sun door", the mystic portal to the empyrean. The Bodh-Gayā 'vihāra' is not a real 'stūpa'; its 'prāsāda' form—not a real Meru—represents a ghostly hierarchy of stages in 'samādhi' or the worlds of the 'rūpadhātu' and 'arūpadhātu' known and traversed in trance.

The mediæval temples of Orissā were built in a series of planes or 'bhūmis' divided by 'āmalaka' quoins like the Mahābodhi temple; these 'bhūmis' are definitely stated to be presided over by various deities.¹ At the same time, the shrines are often referred to as replicas of mountains; i. e., Mahā Meru, etc.²

All the models of the temple show it as having twelve points or corners, whereas the actual shrine has twenty such angles—twelve if one counts only the main breaks in plan. In the case of the small replica it would seem appropriate to identify these points with the twelve mansions of the zodiac, the twelve stages of the sun in its yearly journey around the ecliptic.³ This concept, it will be seen, fits in well with the ideas propounded by M. Mus on the time functions of the four towers themselves.

1. Bose, N. K., 'Canons of Orissan architecture', Calcutta, 1932, p. 114: Bhuvanapradipa, 77. "...in the eighth Chandika; in the seventh, Rudrayani; in the sixth, Rudraganika; in the fifth, Rudrayani; in the fourth, Rakshasi; in the third, Murtika."

2. Ibid., p. 100.

3. It is significant to note the sanctity of the number twelve in the 'Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa'; "And as to why there are twelve (flowers)—there being twelve months in the year, and the year being All, it is by the All that he thus imitates him; what flowers there are of the lotus, they are a form (an image) of the sky, they are a form of the stars" (V; 4; 5; 14.), and "Twelve Apri verses there are—twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni." And, again, why there are twelve, of twelve syllables consists the Jagati, and the Jagati is this earth." (VI; 2; 1; 28, 29).

* There is a suggestion here of the concept of the primordial division and reconstruction of Puruṣa.



One of the smaller votive stūpas at Bodh-Gayā has—above the 'harmikā'—a slab with twelve corners that seemingly might represent the twelve zodiacal stations on an ideal plane in the 'ākāśa' (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 4).¹ We may be quite sure that the ground plan was determined as carefully as those of the meanest village shrine—with each part given a meaning.

1. It may be noted that the zodiacal signs are included in the 'vajradhātu' group of the 'Garbha-dhātu maṇḍala'.

See also RV, I, 164 on the twelve-spoked wheel—of the Ādityas—that revolves around the heavens. The twelve Ādityas or the twelve mansions may be regarded as different manifestations of the same sun-god in twelve stages of the journey through the ecliptic. In regard to the rectangular shape of the slab on the 'harmikā' it may be remembered that the sun was believed to move in a rectilinear orbit ; its movement in a curve is only an illusion.

VĪNĀDHARA IN PALLAVA SCULPTURE

by C. MINAKSHI



Vīnādhara or 'The Bearer of Vīṇā' is one of the four aspects of Dakṣināmūrti and Śiva in this aspect is conceived as the master of music, both vocal and instrumental. The Kāmikāgama, the Aṃsumadbhedāgama and the Kāranāgama describe this form of Śiva.

There are several bronze images of Vīnādhara which are ascribed to the Coḷa period but sculptural representations and stone images are comparatively few in early South Indian temples.

Among the numerous sculptures of the Pallava period on the monuments of Māmallapuram, is found only a single representation of Vīnādhara on the Dharmarāja Ratha which may be assigned to the period of Narasiṃhavarman II¹. This shows that in the early Pallava art representations of Vīnādhara were few. However, that this aspect of Śiva appealed immensely to the Tamil poets and philosophers of the Pallava realm has strong evidence. The divine master of music appeared in full form before the eyes of the composers of the Teyārams. In the words of Appar, the contemporary of Mahendrarvarman I, we have "Viraiyuṇḍa Venṇīru tānumuṇḍu veṇṭalai kaiyuṇḍu orukai vīṇaiyuṇḍu".² He (Śiva) stands wearing---the sweet smelling sacred ashes, holding in one hand a white skull and in the other a Vīṇā.

Appar's younger contemporary poet Sambandar sings, "Paṇṇumūnru

1. A sketch of this representation is found in Carr's Seven Pagodas.

2. Teyāram—Śaiva Siddhānta Ed.

Vīṇaiyoḍu Pāmbuḍan Vaittalenne"¹—the wearer of the melodious Vīṇā and the serpent—and Sundarar the last of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs describes Śiva as "Vittaka Vīṇaiyodum Venpuri nūl pūṇḍu"²—wearing the sacred thread (He stands) with a Vīṇā in hand on which he is proficient. Again he says, "Viṭṭator Saḍaitāla Vīṇai Viḍaṅgāga"³—with the matted hair hanging down and adorned with the Vīṇā.

Śaṅkara, the Advaita philosopher, whose connection with the Pallava capital Kāñcī is strongly supported by tradition and later inscriptions, was not far removed, in point of time, from the builder of the Kailāsanātha temple, Rājasimha. We know that Śaṅkara invoked Śiva as Dakṣināmūrti and composed his "Dakṣināmūrti Varṇamālā Stotram" consisting of twenty-four verses each beginning with the syllables of one of the Dakṣināmūrti Mantras given in the Upaniṣad.

Verses three and sixteen describe Śiva as Vīṇādhara :—

I meditate on that God whose face is turned South, and whom Vaiṇika Vaiyāsika and others worshipped for the dispelling of their delusion and (who) holds in his hand the Saṁvinmudrā, Puṣṭaka, Vīṇā and Akṣamālā.⁴

One will become a Medhāvi (intelligent man) by worshipping Him, adorned with the moon, holding a Vīṇā, of Camphor colour, holding a book in hand and possessing lotus eyes.⁵

Further, in one of the verses of "Dakṣināmūrti Stotra", Śaṅkara again describes Śiva as "the bearer of Vīṇā" and "the master of music" :—

Some yogis worship you (Śiva, thus) pronouncing sweetly—"(He stands) adorned with the moon, holding a Vīṇā, with distinct matted hair and taking delight in enjoying the Nādas".⁶

1. Tevāram—Śaiva Siddhānta Ed., p. 76.

2. " " " " p. 165.

3. Tiruṅgaikāroṇam-Padigam 4, S. S. Ed. p. 80. There are many more references to Śiva as a Vīṇādhara in the Tevāram.

4. "Mohadhvastair-Vaiṇikavaiyāsikamukhyaḥ
Saṁvinmudrāpuṣṭaka Vīṇākṣagopānyam :
Hastāpṛbhojaurvibhratam āraḍhitavantaḥ
Taṁ pratyam caṁ dakṣiṇāvakraṁ kalayāmi" : Verse 3.

5. "Medhāvisyadindavatapaṣaṁ dhṛtavīṇam
Karpūrabhaṇ Puṣṭakahastaṁ kamalākṣam" : Verse 16.

6. Cāruṣṭhitap Somakalāvatapaṣaṁ Vīṇādharaṁ Vyaktajātākālāpam :
Upāsate kecana Yoginastvā mupāttanādānu bhavapramodam" : Verse II.

Having allowed himself to be praised as "Vīṇānāradah" in the inscriptions of the Kailāsanātha temple, it would have been a serious omission on the part of the royal builder of this temple if he had failed to instruct the sculptors to represent his favourite God Śiva as also the divine teacher of music among other aspects. But Rājasimha has succeeded in portraying Śiva in the above temple not only as a Nṛttamūrti but also as a Nādamūrti.

In the Kailāsanātha temple we have two representations of Vīṇādhara. Unfortunately, the one on a shrine of the northern corridor is very decayed.¹ But it is to our advantage to find that much of the plaster-work on this sculpture has come off.

Śiva is standing with his left leg lifted and bent and placed on a pedestal. His right leg is placed erect on the ground. With his left upper hand he holds the upper end of the Vīṇā (the goad of the Vīṇā is visible below the 'daṇḍam') and with the fingers of his right upper hand he touches the strings of the Vīṇā.

His lower right hand is bent and is held in the 'jñānamudrā' pose and there are traces of 'akṣamālā' having been held in this hand. In his left lower arm he holds a 'puṣṭaka'. Śiva wears a 'jaṭāmakuṭa' and ornaments in his ears, around his neck and arms. Above the head of Śiva is sculptured a 'chattra'. Over his head are seen two sets of people, each consisting of a man and a woman riding on the back of a bull. The bulls are flying fast in the air. Perhaps they represent the Gandharvas.

To the left of Śiva there is a figure dancing in the Lalita mode. He looks very slender and his 'dhammillaṃ' is very artistically done. Two more individuals are also dancing behind him. They may also be considered as Gandharvas; and undoubtedly the divine music has inspired them to dance.

This representation of Vīṇādhara satisfies many of the iconographic prescriptions in the Āgamas,² but the one which we find in a niche behind the Garbhagrha of the Kailāsanātha temple is a contrast to the one just described. The latter figure which is seated faces north, and has no plaster work on it at present (inset on p. 84). The carvings on the sand-stone are completely visible. Śiva has only two hands and his left leg is bent and placed on the

1. Rea, Pl. No. XLIII, Fig. 2.

2. Vide Gopinatha Rao Vol. II, part I, p. 29 ff.

'āsana' while his right leg hangs down. The Viṇā rests on his left shoulder. He wears several jewels, an ornamented crown and a 'sarpa aṅkaṇa' whose hood springs up above his right shoulder.

In possessing two hands, this sculpture compares well with the early Coḷa bronze statues of Viṇādhara.¹ The other sculpture of Viṇādhara of the Kailāsanātha temple with four hands already described may also be compared with a similar image of the Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkoṭṭai State.

1. Bulletin of the Madras Museum, Vol. 1, p. 109 and Plates.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NUMBERS IN HINDU PHILOSOPHICAL TEXTS

by BETTY HEIMANN

India is the country of magic and mystic—this is the general opinion. It is true that from Vedic times through the centuries there is a magical trend in Hindu thought. Not only the early and late unofficial Texts of Atharva-veda, some parts of the Purāṇas and Tantras, but the generally recognized Scriptures of the Vedānta, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and later systematics, too, abound in ideas taken and developed from the magical sphere. I would recall as examples the common religio-psychological concept of 'śraddhā', belief in the magical efficacy of devotion and faith which inevitably attracts the wanted results from the respective object in mind (cf. e. g. Ka. Up. 1, 2; Yogasūtras 1, 35, comm.). Further think of the significance of 'upāsana' and 'upa (ni) śad', literally: the sitting towards a thing and thus getting hold of the thing approached in order to attain participation with, and desired reaction from, the object of worship (cf. my review of Sēnart's translation of Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad, J. R. A. S. 1937).

The Hindu concept of sacrifice, too, is a magical or rather semi-magical, semi-biological idea. It is based on the 'do-ut-des' or law of action and re-action, enforcing by offerings of concrete substance of honey, ghee, etc., or by a gift of less concrete matter like concentrated thought ('dhi', Brahman-hymns, etc.) the due counter-gift; from cause results its effect. Each gift strengthens ('vardhayate') the god and thus enables him to his counter-gift and quasi automatically attracts the wanted response. Besides, Hindu 'jñāna-mārga' is based on the same magical principle as the 'karma-mārga': whatever I know, on this I can get a hold (cf. Brāhmaṇa-and Upaniṣad-Texts passim). I may add the literal meaning of the term 'upapanna': approached, i. e. understood, mentally grasped. As to terms in general: 'nomen' is 'omen', is essential part of the thing itself and

articulation and sound are magical-psychological factors leading to the grasp of name and thing.

We are entitled therefore to expect in India even more than in other cultures a fully developed and generally recognized system of the most frequent magical means, that of magic of numbers as it has so abundantly flourished through all times in the Near East and the West in Hebrew, Greek and later speculations, in religion, esoteric teachings and folklore.

But—strangely enough—just this most common kind of magic has not found a very fertile ground in Indian classical literature. For it is efficiently counteracted by the very idea which is generally linked up with magic, by mystic. Mystic (from Greek 'mueo') means originally—and just so at all times in India—restoring natural or Nature-given unity. Interconnection of all things is recognized while concrete empirical observation teaches it ever anew (see about this in detail my 'Indian and Western Philosophy' pp. 95 ff.). As such mystic unity is the counterpart of 'māyā', of all distinct, measurable definite forms (cf. *ibidem* pp. 49 ff; 94 f.).

Numbers, on the other hand, are symbols emphasizing distinction, singleness. For the orthodox Hindu they have but momentary significance like all phenomena of 'māyā'. They are on the whole never taken in India as perfect in themselves. They are not logical or æsthetic or metaphysical ideals as with Pythagoras, Plato (e. g. 'De Re publica' VII 522 c ff.) and their followers, the Western advocates of 'measure' (cf. *ibidem* *passim*). Never could India say what St. Augustine, the Father of the Church, proclaims (quoted from T. Dantzig, *Number the Language of Science* p. 45 and traced, though not literally, but potentially in 'De Civitate Dei' XI, ch. 30): "Six is a number perfect in itself, and not because God created all things in six days, rather the inverse is true; God created all things in six days because this number is perfect, and it would remain perfect even if the work of the six days did not exist".

In India, on the other hand, not one singled-out thing or number is more significant than all the others, the second, the third, the fourth a. s. o. All distinct things as a whole are confronted with the assumed unity between—or before—or after—they all; just so the numbers, the foremost representatives of all distinction are counterpoles to mystic unity or even contradictory to it. It is true that the plurality of empirical phenomena is the starting point of all philosophical thought for the Hindu (cf. my

'Plurality, Polarity and Unity of Hindu Thought'), but this world of 'māyā', this world of empirical reality, is by its immanent similarity of essentially the same kind in all its parts. Numbers play their part in Hindu philosophy just as all other qualities observed. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikam ranges accordingly number as one of the general qualities of all things and of all tangible substances. Plurality, i. e. number, is for them something produced and as such never eternal nor perfect. The Mīmāṃsaka-school of Prabhākara, it is true, classifies number as a basic category of the actual world like generalisation, quality, quantity, etc. But he, too, holds number merely in this restricted, because but empirical esteem. Each single number is but an accidental quality like others belonging to visible objects; number is not a predestinated nor self-predestinating perfect form.

India's concrete outlook does not conceive abstract numbers as separate entities and values apart from their objects (except, it may be, the number one, two and three with which we have to deal later on as symbolic representatives of unity); all distinct numbers in themselves, however, expressing singleness, division and addition are merely an accessory which combines some and separate other things like all other accidental qualities. Not the number designates the things, but the things give significance to the number implied. The four, for instance, is grasped from its most important bearer, the four 'diś', quarters of the world, and as such all four-divided objects are measured in relation to these symbols of cosmic space. All five-fold things are likened to the five 'prāṇas', intellectual sense-organs, or the five (six) seasons of the year. As to seven, we are tempted to presume a special importance of this number because of the frequent enumeration of seven-fold objects, but here, too, some biological or astronomical facts which impress the Hindu mind and are important for his life give predominance to this number: the seven openings of the head or the seven days of the week, the quarter of the twenty-eight days of the cycle of the moon. Accordingly, Hindu sense for interconnection sees this number also in other things: India recognizes seven 'ṛṣis', seven inspired poets. Observations of the microcosm are transferred into the macrocosm: seven continents with seven surrounding seas are assumed in Hindu cosmology. But the number seven itself is accidental and not of independent value. In India never the inverse—and secondary—process has taken place that things are important through their participation in a

certain number (cf. contra : the above given quotation from St. Augustine). Number is significant only by its borrowed light, by the significance of the things observed with which it is connected.

The same applies to all so-called magic of numbers which apparently takes place with holy metres or sounds of holy words ; not the four, the eight and the eleven give magical importance to the syllable 'om' ('aum' and its 'nāda', the final nasal sound) or to the metres 'Gāyatrī' and 'Triṣṭubh', but these venerable objects make the number which is connected with them part of their own immanent holiness.

Thus we can at random enumerate other single numbers which are frequently mentioned in Hindu philosophical Texts, e. g. the eight as number of later systematized rhetorical psychology : the eight 'rasas' or basic sentiments which, however, are altered in India without hesitation by addition of yet another ninth, as soon as further development of research did recommend it. The borderlines of all single numbers are not rigidly fixed with regard to their quality and quantity. Interchangeability of form is a basic concept of all Indian observation and consequent speculation (see about this my 'Reality of Fiction in Hindu Thought'). No singleness and uniqueness is assumed as value or canon of truth. The typical Hindu tendency for classification may not be taken for a sanctification of numbers ; the numbers in these systematic enumerations can change and do change as soon as the subject-matter is widened. The criteria of truth, the philosophical 'pramāṇas', vary not only among the different schools but also in one and the same school in various stages of its development, there are one, two, three, four or six criteria of truth. 'Sāṅkhyam', the typical system of enumeration ('saṅkhyā') develops, it is true, a system of twenty-five basic 'tattvas', entities, in its division of bodily and mental micro-macrocosmic capacities, but merely a predilection for enumeration as matter of explanation, a purely pedagogical-epistemological purpose, not any magical or metaphysical inclination for number-worship can herein be traced.

Number is but a means,—not purpose and importance apart from the object in hand ; it is but an accidental quality, not a pre-existent nor, in any way, independent value.

There are, however, a few numbers which have an exceptional value, but only one which is indirectly attributed to them. Threehundred-

sixty, for instance, has an outstanding importance in Brāhmaṇa-speculation. The sacrificial altar is carefully erected from bricks which must exactly amount to this number in order to make the sacrifice perfect. But here, too, not the number itself, but that for which it stands, gives the very importance. Threehundredsixty represents the year, the whole of a period. Other numbers like 'śatam', a hundred, 'sahasram', a thousand, 'lakṣam', one hundred thousand, and 'koṭi', ten millions, are significant as symbols of perfection in the sense of completion, of almost uncountable plurality, approaching and thus representing the concept of infinity.

And now let us turn back to the numbers one, two and three. They belong in a certain way to the sphere of unity or the transcendental level of completion and as such they are more than mere numbers of 'māyā'. In the Vedānta system the one is attributed to the divine 'brahman' which is called 'ekam advitiyam', the one which in its essence is not dissolved into distinct plurality, though manifested by it. The two, on the other hand, is implicitly accepted as the symbol of all polarity between 'bhū' and 'sat', between the empirical world of 'māyā', the ever changing becoming, and the static permanent being. This double aspect is acknowledged in a biological polarity between male and female, a physical polarity of day and night or, ontologically, in the natural polarity of generation and destruction, etc.

The restricted double aspect of the Sāṅkhya teaching a kind of polarity between Matter and Spirit is another application of the number two as representative of the all-embracing completeness. But here, too, not the two itself, but the concept for which it stands, is what matters. Not a magic of numbers but the polar aspect of unity within all 'divergence' is the underlying idea.

The three, too, has an exceptional position among all numbers in so far as 'three' represents the logical, biological or physical balance between both extremes of polarity. Unity as balance is the concept of the three bodily humours, ontologically the three represents the idea of basic elements and their colours (but here, too, later systematics add one or two more newly discovered elements in the course of their researches). Three as number of dynamical balance is further emphasized in all speculations of Time : past, present and future comprehend in their trinity all possible temporary stages.

The really important and essential speculations on numbers are those

which go beyond all numbers. 'Śūna', swollen, the immense is the receptacle of all distinct numbers, like the ocean being the receptacle of all single rivers which by emerging into the vast and vague sea lose their single shape and number ; 'śūnya', the zero, on the other hand is the potential reservoir of all negative and positive numbers alike, the all and the none. It is not pure chance that just India has given to the world two great mathematical discoveries : the polarity and relativity of all distinction, of all numbers, according to their accidental position is expressed by the concept of negative beside positive numbers. And even more far reaching is India's second mathematical-metaphysical discovery : India invented the symbol of zero.

The only esoteric, or rather transcendental, Indian ideas of numbers are the concept of relativity of all numbers and the concept of the no-number.

A NAṬARĀJA SCULPTURE OF THE PERIOD OF RĀJENDRACOĻA I

by AJIT GHOSE



Naṭarāja images in bronze have called forth the highest praises, the most remarkable being from Rodin ; it is, therefore, all the more surprising that stone sculptures of the Naṭarāja have scarcely so far been noticed although as I have pointed out in an earlier paper¹ it is the forms of sculptured stone images which reappear in Coḷa as well as later bronzes. One reason for such oversight is the rarity of fine sculptures of Naṭarāja. I propose to draw attention in this paper to a stone image of Naṭarāja of very great archaeological importance and of supreme æsthetic merit. This image is to be found within a niche of

the south facade of what is probably the greatest of all Coḷa architectural monuments—the temple, now partly in ruins, at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śoḷapuram (Pl. XXV). This temple was built by Rājendracōḷa I (1012-1035 A. D.) in the town which he founded and which he had intended to be the capital of his empire but fate willed otherwise. The age of this stone sculpture is certain owing to its intimate connection with the great temple for it is built into and is a part of the niche on the extreme left of the south facade as one faces it, as shown in the Plate. There is thus no room for doubt that it is contemporary with the temple itself. On account of this perfect

1. Ghose, Ajit, "A Group of Early Coḷa Bronzes" in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 10, p. 178 et seq.

certainly as regards date and school it serves as a very valuable document for the study of the Naṭarāja bronzes.

As stated above the Naṭarāja which is the subject of this paper is on the south facade of the temple, but there is on the north facade a smaller Naṭarāja of little importance sculptured in lower relief which has been noticed by V. A. Smith,¹ who curiously enough makes no mention even of the much larger and truly impressive sculpture on the south side. A third Naṭarāja sculpture is to be found in a small ruined shrine close by and this, too, is of inferior artistic merit besides being badly weathered.

Śiva is the Dancer of the burning ground—hence in the background of our sculpture is the cremation ground where the soul is freed from the illusion of life. In the midst of it stands a leafy Aśvattha tree with spreading branches from which hang offerings of garlands and a purse containing jewels. Behind Śiva to his left is a small figure of the goddess Kālī also in a dancing pose. On the proper left, where the stone slab—placed in position probably later to support the uplifted and damaged foot of Naṭarāja—obstructs the view, there appears to be another figure dancing, namely the Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgi. The goddess Gaṅgā with hands folded in adoration appears on Śiva's snaky locks, which fly in the wind on either side as Naṭarāja whirls round. Two Gaṇas sport on either side of the Aśvattha branches. The hood of a cobra projects between the upper left hand and the left knee. According to Gopinātha Rao this dance of Śiva is known as "Bhujāṅga Lalita".² The pose is described in the Nāṭya Śāstra, however, as "Bhujāṅga-trāsa" in which one leg is "bent in a triangular fashion and lifted up while the body about the hip and the knee is slightly turned on one side." To continue with our description of our Naṭarāja, one right hand holds the drum and one left fire, while the other right is in the Kaṭaka pose and the left is held in Gaja-hasta pose. Naṭarāja wears on his head a crown of peacock's feathers, in the centre of which is a skull and other attributes which are indistinct. On his waist is a girdle of skulls, while he wears the usual ornaments in his ears and on his neck, arms and legs. With the right foot he tramples on the crouching figure of Apasmāra-puruṣa and the left is lifted up as though the god has suddenly discovered

1. Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1st ed., p. 224, Fig. 159.

2. Rao, T. A. Gopinātha, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, p. 227.



a snake gliding by—so says the iconographer. Outside the niche on the stone facing are sculptured figures showing skilful grouping which supplement the main action of the dance. On the right is Śiva's consort, Śivakāṁī, and the bull, Nandī, and on the left are his progeny—Kārttikeya riding on his peacock and Gaṇeśa on his proper Vāhana. The dance is accompanied by celestial music, while lesser gods and the followers of the deity appear above and below, making up an altogether remarkable composition.

This Nāṭarāja sculpture appears—such is the sculptor's technical skill—to be completely in the round but in reality it is in high relief standing out as it were from the massive block from which it has been carved.

Only the finest among the metal images have rendered Nāṭarāja's dance with anything like the same breadth and freedom of technique. Such for example is the bronze from Tiruvāṇṅāḍu reproduced on p. 94. But the artistic value of our sculpture is in no way less than that of the justly famous bronze.





THE HEAD OF THE MONSTER IN KHMER AND FAR EASTERN DECORATION*

by H. MARCHAL

The first explorers who visited the ruins of Angkor at the beginning of the French occupation of Cambodia (second half of the nineteenth century) were struck by the variety and wealth of decorative motives carved on Khmer temples. Amongst these, the head of the monster especially held their attention with the broad grin of its face, and its round, more or less protruding eyes forming part of the decoration with its scroll work and ornaments. Tissandier and Delaporte in their works on ancient Cambodia frequently reproduce this monster head among their illustrations.

Later on, scholars and archaeologists studied more profoundly the temples and Khmer civilisation. The dates of the monuments were fixed and the history of the ancient kings of Cambodia was dealt with precision and commented upon ; the purely ornamental side however was always more or less neglected. The head of the monster for instance has been mentioned only in order to discuss the legend which originated it and to determine what symbol it could be. Many and very different names were attributed to it according to the regions and countries of its representation. The motif is very widely distributed, not only in the whole of Eastern Asia but also in the Sunda islands and even in Central America. It played and still goes on playing an important part in 'decorative' art.

These are some of the principal names given to it in scholarly works : T'ao T'ie in China, Kirttimukha or head of Kāla in India, head of Rāhu in Cambodia ; Banaspati in Java, Boma in Bali, etc. Actually however nobody can say where it has its origin or in what part of the earth it was first

* This article has been written in November 1935. Ed.

conceived: it is however of very ancient origin and the motif which in Cambodia especially has become purely decorative only, had originally a symbolical and magical meaning: the head of the monster means to frighten the evil spirits and to drive them away.

To-day it seems almost accepted that two great currents of civilisation have influenced the whole ancient continent. The one, localised in Central Asia has frequently been called 'the art of the steppes' and has radiated from the coast of China to Eastern Europe. The other has its starting point possibly in the South of easternmost Asia, or further east still. By land or by sea, it has spread all over southern Asia and has penetrated into Central America by way of the Pacific islands. The two currents met and exerted mutual influences and China specially was one of the countries where they amalgamated. China in its turn became a new starting point for an art motif which it had received and assimilated.

The head of the monster is found in China at a very remote period. It can clearly be recognised despite its excessive stylisation and sometimes simplification, on bronzes of the beginning of the first millenium B. C. On a bronze plaque inlaid with turquoises and belonging to the Shang dynasty which may be placed between 1766 and 1122 B. C. one can see two such monster heads superimposed. One of the peculiar features of this motif and which distinguishes it clearly from the gargoyles and Gorgo heads of European tradition, is the total absence of the lower jaw. My hypothetical explanation of this anomaly is that the origin of this head may be seen in the human skulls fixed as a kind of war trophy with a clearly prophylactic purpose by certain Polynesian tribes above the entrances of their dwellings. These skulls have lost the lower jaws; they have disappeared on account of the putrefaction of the flesh.

The custom of killing men in order to get into possession of their heads, supposed to be the seat of the soul, prevails in the whole domain of the Pacific ocean. The principal idol of the Easter island, the god Maké Maké is shown as a skull in coarse designs; this shape the god Tiki of the Marquesas islands equally calls to mind.

Subsequently, we may assume that a sculpture, a drawing or painting was substituted which preserved the characteristic feature of the absent lower jaw; finally the face eventually became a decorative motif applied without remembering its sinister origin.

It is interesting to state that even to-day this motif which is frequently made use of in Cambodia, Annam and the island of Bali, preserves the characteristic feature of the absent lower jaw. One of the reasons moreover for supposing the human skull to be the origin of the motif is the general appearance of the monster head which resolves itself into the two following features : a mandible garnished with teeth and with a very pronounced grin, and two enormous eyes ; this corresponds to the impression made by a skull in front view where the cavity of the eyes and the teeth are conspicuous ; the rest is but indicated and fairly vague.

Subsequently however, in rendering this motif a commingling took place with the head of the lion. Especially in Cambodia the head is frequently pronouncedly animalic. Yet the distinctive trait of this mask has so deeply become impressed in the mind of the sculptor that even where he had to represent a complete lion, generally in standing position, such as can be seen on the East avenue of the temple at Prah Khan,—this standing lion lacks the lower jaw.

Another peculiarity is also to be found in this motif, i. e. the addition of two arms or fore-legs or sometimes only of paws or claws ; they flank on either side the face of the monster. In Java specially, the hands stand up with two raised fingers, a sign of threatening ; this gesture gives greater precision to the meaning of the symbol which means to frighten those who contemplate it ; in this manner it serves as protection against enemies and evil spirits who try to enter house or sanctuary.

The purpose of the present essay is solely to point out the manner in which this head has been treated by different peoples who have employed it in their carved ornamentations. It is not without interest to show the deformations and stylisations which the motif underwent in the course of centuries and in the hands of indigenous craftsmen who invested it with their own fancy within imposed limits ; the craftsmen, it may be said, based their variations on this motif in the same way as a pianist or violinist does with a musical theme enriching, developing or extremely simplifying it.

At times it is difficult enough to recognise at the first glance, the mask itself reduced to an ornamental motif, for it may be lost amongst the exuberance of the lines of the ornamentation and of the scrollwork

with which it is combined. It must not be forgotten that especially amongst primitive people the craftsman often allows himself to be carried away by the outline he has drawn and that the interpretation of the decoration which he has composed, surpasses at times that what he actually intended to make. Certain designs of stylised heads on shields from Eastern New Guinea, or on Tlingit paintings of North America have a complexity of lines, made up most frequently of ovals and spirals which completely bewilders Western eyes.

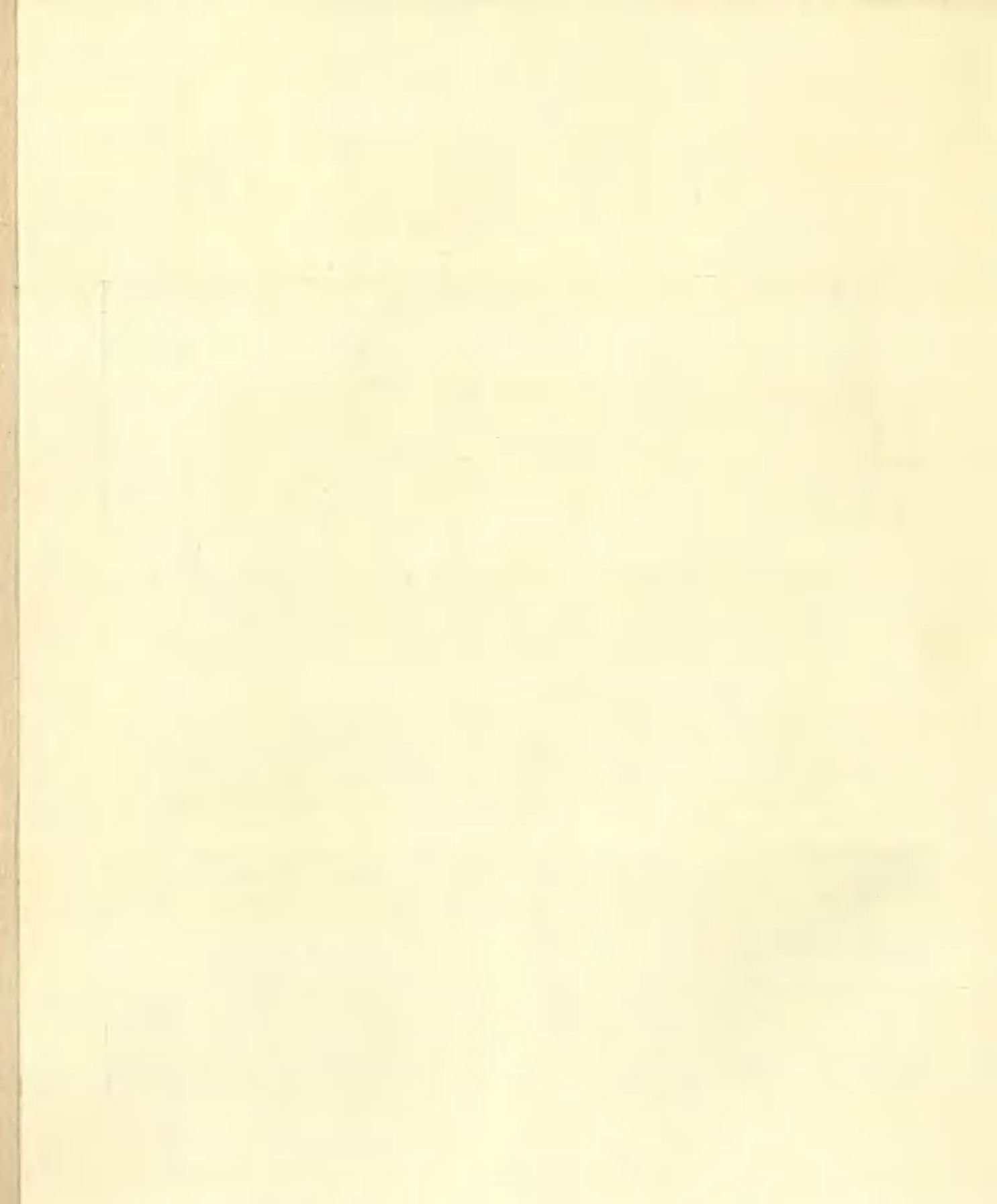
The confusion, which has been frequently pointed out, in the interpretation of ornamental motives in Annamite and Khmer art is explicable with reference to the basic belief of the respective religions. The spirit which animates these religions, the metempsychosis, is made manifest and concrete in ornamental plastic art: human, animal and vegetation motives interlace, penetrate the one the other and are inextricably one in convolutions of lines. The art of Angkor supplies many examples: the decoration of a pilaster for instance shows an animal changing over into scrollwork, of which the volutes in turn end in birds; human figures ride on garlands amidst floral decorations and crooks of foliage. The Western eye is at times bewildered by these intentional confusions and is compelled to look attentively so as to see whether a pure vegetation device or a fantastically treated animal is the object of its contemplation.

The head of the monster is infinitely diversified and takes the most unexpected shapes in the art of the Far East, on the isles of Oceania and in Central America.

At times the craftsman, as if tired himself of a too frequent repetition of this motif, sums it up in a single circle, the eye, on top of a curve decorated with tooth motives, i. e. the upper jaw. This fashion of reducing the head to its simplest elements is frequent enough in the Sunda islands. Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1 (Mojokerto Museum, Java) gives an instance of this peculiar abbreviation: the solitary eye, the central motif of the device is just above the sinuous line of the mandible with its stylised protruding teeth, etc.

The Tao T'ie in China is amongst the most ancient monster heads known. The figure on p. 101 belongs to a bronze published by the mission Chavannes. In ancient China the Tao T'ie most frequently is composed of straight lined shapes. In this it differs from other countries where the







mask is almost exclusively composed of curves and volutes. According to O. Siren, the T'ao T'ie motif, possibly of foreign origin, having become fundamentally Chinese, would have spread into South Asia and Java. Subsequently it was interpreted under Hindu influence as a terrible emanation of Śiva and became the Kirttimukha.

In the art of Annam this head is frequently endowed with features of the dragon's head, i. e. with tentacles, eyebrows, horns and flames; these make a somewhat bushy frame. Always, however, the lower jaw is absent. Its place is frequently taken by a protruding tongue or by a scroll pendant. In Annam this motif decorates the top of pagodas, incense burners and other cult objects.

In Cambodia it is profusely employed in classical art; carved on temple facades, it occurs most frequently on door lintels above entrances (Pl. XXVI, Figs. 2 and 3). Frequently the forepart of the lion's head with which it has become closely associated, interrupts the upper lip; strongly turned upwards as it is on either side, this gives an impression as if in the centre the row of teeth were growing out of the nose. At times the lion aspect of the head is solely suggested by scroll and curve motives. They are part of the surrounding decoration, as for instance on the lintel of the Bayon (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 4).

On the lintel from Pré Rup (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 5) the head of the monster is also made up of scrolls. Their end-volutes suggest the eyeballs and nostrils. This motif became the vogue in Khmer art. It is to be found everywhere on walls, pediments and pilasters. On the pilasters of the Phnom Bakheng temple the head of the monster serves as a base for praying figurines which are part of the decoration (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2). On the walls of the temple of Angkor Vat it is part of the charming decoration of interlacing scroll work which surrounds the female figures on the walls (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1.). On the base of the pillars of the third storey of this temple, the decoration, lightly engraved above a frieze and reminiscent of lace or embroidery, incorporates a vestigial monster's head below the praying figure in the centre of this decoration (Figure on top, p. 102). With a little



attention, the motif below, in the shape of a floral device, is seen to surmount a first curve terminated by two volutes suggestive of the eyes, and another curve below, the upper lip, with the teeth.

Of the same kind is the frieze of pendentives in the dance hall of Banteay Kdei (Figure below, on p. 102). There again the head is suggested by two superimposed curves, with the range of teeth coming out below. In this case the motif has become schematised to such an extent that it can be understood only with the help of other instances of the same motif. At the end

of classical Khmer art (12th or 13th century) extreme deformation and stylisation are to be found. This however was also the case with this motif amongst primitive people, where it also became lost amidst intricate linear convolutions.

A new type of stylisation of the monster head belongs to the same temple of Banteay Kdei (lower part of a door jamb, Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3). The stone unfortunately is worn and the mediocre design shows the decadence of Khmer art at this period.

Another aspect of this mask, in the classical period of Angkor, is shown in a design from a decorated bronze tube found in the excavation of the temple of Banteay Samré (Fig. on p. 103).





1



2



3

15



4

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To this day however the motif is being used in Cambodia, incorporated, as it always had been, in the ornamental decoration (Fig. below, p. 103, from the bottom of a carved panel on the wooden wing of a door of a Pagoda at Siemréap). On the knee of the figure—of which only the legs are shown above the foliage—another monster head may be seen in profile. Similar heads even to-day decorate

certain coiffures of masks worn by female Cambodian dancers.

Cham art, geographically and historically the neighbour of Khmer art, also presents in its sculpture a certain number of decorative faces.

In Javanese architecture this head occupies a clearly marked place. It decorates the key stone of the arches above the entrances of some of the temples. The famous monument of Borobudur has the best known examples. Less frequently however is the monster's head in Java part of decorative friezes. Still, it appears above the cornice of the temple at Singasari (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 4). There, however the lower jaw is indicated. This exception however is not repeated in the noble head in the centre at the bottom of the reproduction.

In Bali the mask is repeated in phantasmagorical variety on the walls of pagodas; it has the power of an obsession.

Ornamental detail does not in any way diminish the ferocity of the mask. The lower jaw is always absent but a tongue frequently protrudes and is elaborated with a profusion of decorative elements. At times, in Cambodia for instance, the craftsman who executes this motifs takes pleasure in evoking by a play of lines the impression of the face of the monster (Fig. on p. 104); only the eyeballs make it clear that this is a face in front view.

Still further east, on the Polynesian





Far-Eastern Asia.

In Central America, the part played by the terrifying mask is analogous to that on the temple walls in Bali. Maya architecture shows numerous examples. The Fig. on p. 104, bottom, comes from Yucatan; it is one of the heads on the facade of the Governor's house at Uxmal. The mask had to be made in masonry and this necessitated a rigidity of form and an almost purely linear decoration. The 'nose' is made to project considerably in the vertical; the globe of the eyes was cut by the joint between the building stones. Eyebrows and ears are made of elements the symbolism of which is unknown to us. The entire decorative motif is almost purely linear.

In India, the motif of the monster's head (it must not be confused with the Makara which is always shown in profile) is less wide-spread than in the countries of the Far East. Actually it is only in the twelfth and thirteenth century that it has become a widely current motif of decoration.

Coomaraswamy, in his work on the sculptures at Bodh-Gayā points out that this head appears in the first century A. D. as a metal ornament and that it decorates the coiffure of a figure in *Amarāvati*; still, he adds, the Makara in front view, or *Kīrttimukha*, does not appear as an architectonic ornamentation prior to the Gupta period.

From the 15th century onward it is in fact very frequently employed especially on the apex of arches (*tiruvāsi*) where it plays the same part as in Javanese architecture.

Mediaeval art in France was more or less influenced by Asiatic motives and there is nothing surprising if here and there reminiscences occur of the monster's head without the lower jaw. Viollet-le-Duc in his 'Dictionary of Architecture' (Vol. VIII, p. 123, Fig. II) shows a capital, most probably of the sixth century from the ancient rotunda



islands, where skull trophies are frequently employed, the motif of the monster's head is interpreted with utmost artistic care on some pediments on the Maori islands. Frequently the addition of the protruding tongue recalls the same version in the Sunda islands and in

of St. Benigne at Dijon. Its faces have a composite character in which Far Eastern influence is clear. Viollet-le-Duc thinks of India, but its origin is to be sought further East. Serpent bodies connecting the faces further confirm this. A fragment of a cornice from the facade of Notre Dame la Grande in Poitiers of which Viollet-le-Duc reproduces a drawing (l. c. p. 189) shows a mask half animal, half human; from its mouth without lower jaw, scrolls sally forth. The Rāhu of Khmer lintels is similar. The same motif of an animal head with scrolls coming out from the sides of the mouth appears also on a capital from St. Bertin, in the Museum at St. Omer (Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'Archéologie Française*, tome I p. 411, Fig. 204). Altogether however this mask appears exceptionally only in Western art and the rarity there is opposed to its importance in the Extreme East.

The head without the lower jaw, with exposed teeth and protruding eyes is a current 'leitmotive' to this day in Annamite, Cambodian and Balinese art, as seen by me on the spot. Repeated on the walls of temples, on decorated objects and accessories and almost everywhere, its insistence is remarkable. Eastern imagination had a wide margin in the ornamental and phantastic stylisation of this motif. In it we can see the survival of a very ancient myth which must have spread over a large part of the world. The manner in which it was interpreted at different periods and diverse regions could not leave the craftsmen indifferent.

Illustrations:

- Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1. Head of the monster, reduced to one eye, the line of the mandible and teeth. Museum of Mojokerto (Java); art of Mojopahit.
 Fig. on p. 101. Head of the monster on a Chinese vase (ancient epoch).
 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2. Lintel from Banteay Srei (Khmer art, tenth century).
 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 3. Lintel from Trapeang Srangé (Khmer art, eleventh century).
 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 4. Lintel from the Bayon (Khmer art, thirteenth century).
 Pl. XXVI, Fig. 5. Lintel from Pré Rup (Khmer art, tenth century).
 Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2. Pilaster from the Bakheng (Khmer art, ninth century).
 Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1. Wall from Angkor Vat (Khmer art, twelfth century).
 Fig. on top of p. 102. Pillar from Angkor Vat (Khmer art, twelfth century).
 Fig. bottom of p. 102. Drawing; pillar from Banteai Kdei (Khmer art, thirteenth century).
 Pl. XXVII, Fig. 3. Door jamb from Banteai Kdei (Khmer art, thirteenth century).
 Fig. on p. 103, top. Decorated bronze tube (Khmer art, twelfth century).
 Fig. on p. 103, bottom. Wing of a pagoda door (modern Khmer art).
 Pl. XXVII, Fig. 4. Tjandi Singasari (Javanese art, thirteenth century).
 Fig. p. 104, bottom. Head of the monster on the facade of the Governor's palace at Uxmal.

Transl.

VERGLEICHENDE KUNSTFORSCHUNG

Von Josef Strzygowski

Nach dem Vorbilde der vergleichenden Sprachforschung, der Urgeschichte und Voelkerkunde stellen sich allmaehlich wohl alle Geisteswissenschaften mehr oder weniger auf das vergleichende Verfahren ein. Die Kunstgeschichte, besser die Forschung über Bildende Kunst, von der hier im Besonderen die Rede sein soll, konnte ihre eigenen Wege deshalb voraus gehen, weil ihr, noch bevor sie in den Vergleich eintrat, ein Plan geboten wurde, der ermoeöglichen soll, über die Analogie hinaus zu hoeheren Vergleichsverfahren durchzudringen und damit von der Geschichte aufzusteigen zur Wesensbetrachtung und Entwicklungserklaerung. Beide Verfahren lassen die Forschung über die Vergangenheit hinaus zum Werkzeuge sachlicher Erkenntnis für Gegenwart und Zukunft werden. Davon soll nachfolgend berichtet werden. (1).

Im Allgemeinen begnügen wir uns noch immer mit der Vorstellung, dass die Menschheit aus einer mehr oder weniger grossen Reihe von Sprach- und Geschichtskreisen bestehe, die im Nebeneinander zu erfassen, als befriedigendes Ziel der Geisteswissenschaften gelten koenne: Eine selbstaendig durchgeführte Lebensarbeit auf dem Gebiete der Forschung über Bildende Kunst gelangte dagegen etwas weiter, vor allem wohl deshalb, weil die Denkmaeler der Bildenden Kunst auch ohne Schrift und weit vor letzterer, oefter als die einzigen, hoeherwertigen Spuren des Menschen vor uns stehen. Sie sind ueberdies anschaulich, so dass wir nicht erst auf dem Umwege über die Schrift in sie eindringen müssten. Diese Vorteile haben es wohl mit sich gebracht, dass ein Kunstforscher—ich unterscheide ihn sehr wesentlich vom Kunsthistoriker—Wege finden konnte, die andere sind als die ueblichen von den Sprachen und der Geschichte ausgehenden.

Der Hauptunterschied ist wohl der, dass der Forscher nach Ort, Zeit und Gesellschaft ganz anders eingestellt ist als der Historiker. Er wirft zuerst einen Blick auf den gesamten Erdkreis bevor er sich auf einen be-

stimmten Ort einstellt: er hat die Zeit weit über die willkürlich angenommene historische Grenze hinaus im Auge und behandelt dann erst den Abschnitt, über den er arbeiten will. Auch sieht er zunaechst umfassende Gürtelpersoenlichkeiten, wie den Nord- und Südmenschen und den Machtmenschen in der Mitte zwischen beiden, dazu grosse vom Norden ausgehende Volkspersoenlichkeiten vor sich, bevor er auf die Gesellschaftskreise eingeht. Für ihn ist es durchaus nicht selbstverstaendlich, dass man eine grosse Persoenlichkeit gerade nur aus ihrer Umgebung und dem Geiste ihrer Zeit erklæren soll; sie kann für ihn vielmehr Traeger von Ueberlieferungen sein, die weit tiefer wurzeln als alles, was noch in der gegebenen Zeit und ihren Braeuchen lebt. Gerade dadurch aber wirkt die grosse Persoenlichkeit scheinbar einzigartig. Nehmen wir als Beispiel den Oesterreicher Adalbert Stifter. Was in ihm aus unseren Ostalpen und ihrem nordischen Vorlande spricht, ist ein uralt indogermanischer Zug, der schon bei Dürer und spaeter bei den Romantikern der Zeit Stifters durchschlaegt: sie malen Landschaften, auch wenn sie Worte gebrauchen, wie Michelangelo auch mit dem Pinsel Statuen schafft. Wer solchen Persoenlichkeiten vergleichend nachgeht, überzeugt sich schliesslich, dass sie zeitlos als ausgesprochene Nordmenschen anzusehen sind, wie die Schoepfer des Altgriechischen, Alt-iranischen und der sog. Gotik. Alle die Genannten sind Abzweigungen eines einzigen, des europæischen Nordstromes, was wir nur leider nicht sehen, bezw. nicht sehen wollen. So sehen wir auch nicht was Indien für die Erschliessung der Kunstentwicklung bedeutet.

Warum das der Fall ist, liegt begründet in der Einseitigkeit, mit der wir bisher dem alten Oriente, dem Hellenismus und dem kaiserlichen Rom nachgingen und unser Geistes- ja Seelenleben vorwiegend auf dieser Grundlage aufgebaut haben. Noch auf der Tagung des Voelkerbundausschusses für Literatur und Kunst in Madrid über die Zukunft der Kultur fühlte ich mich 1933 voellig unverstanden, als ich fragte, ob die Herren denn glaubten, dass unsere heutige europæische Kultur, von der immer als allein in Betracht kommend gesprochen wurde, wirklich die einzige von hoeherem Werte sei. Darüber ist ja nachtraeglich eine vom genannten Voelkerbundausschusse herausgegebene Auseinandersetzung zwischen Henri Focillon von der Sorbonne und mir im Druck erschienen. (2).

Die vergleichende Kunstforschung baut auf dem gleichen Boden wie die Geschichte und Sprachkenntnis, d. h. auf den, wie man sich

ausdrückt, philologisch-historisch nachgewiesenen Bestand-Tatsachen; nur hütet sie sich, die Einzelergebnisse geschichtsphilosophisch zu verknüpfen, sucht vielmehr für diese Verknüpfung nach höheren, rein sachlichen Verfahren. Vor allem aber bleibt sie nicht, um die Bildende Kunst als Beispiel zu nehmen, bei dem in Stein Erhaltenen stehen, sondern haelt sich immer, veranlasst durch Beobachtungen im eigenen Norden und aequatorialen Süden vor Augen, dass die ursprünglichen Kunststroeme nicht nur in Stein, sondern zumeist in sehr vergaenglichen Rohstoffen geschaffen haben. Daher sind, je weiter wir zurückgehen, Denkmäler nicht nur verschwunden wegen ganz natürlicher Vernichtung durch die Jahrtausende, sondern vor allem auch eben wegen der Hinfälligkeit der verwendeten Rohstoffe. Dadurch entstanden ungeheure Lücken, die wir nicht auf philologisch-historischem, wohl aber auf dem Wege der höheren vergleichenden Verfahren der Wesensbetrachtung und Entwicklungs-erklärung, schliesslich der Darlegung der Befangenheit des bisherigen wissenschaftlichen Beobachters auszufüllen suchen müssen. Dann erst laesst sich eine Geschichtsschreibung auf neuen Grundlagen wieder aufnehmen.

Wir glauben, dass unsere heutige europaeische Kultur ihrem Wesen nach die beste sei und bestehen bleiben müsste. Die Italiener pochen dabei im Anschluss an die Antike auf ihr Renaissance- und Barockzeitalter, die Franzosen dagegen auf Klassicismus und Aufklärung ihres siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Die Geisteswissenschaften selbst gehen zurück auf die Grundlagen dieser Gesinnungen im alten Orient und was Alexander, Rom und Karl d. Gr. überleitend dafür geleistet hatten. Sie ziehen auch Griechenland mit in diesen Kreis und beachten nicht, dass die altgriechische Kunst bis auf Alexander ihre eigenen Wege ging, abgesehen allerdings von zwei von unserem überlieferten Standpunkt aus sehr beachtenswerten Entlehnungen: erst in Hellas haben die nordischen Einwanderer vom Mittelmeerkreise den geschnittenen Stein zum Bauen und die menschliche Gestalt zum Darstellen übernommen, ursprünglich, d. h. vor Alexander freilich nur, indem sie zugleich dem Geiste treu blieben, den sie vom Norden mitgebracht hatten.

Es wird wohl niemanden unter uns geben, der dieses Altgriechische nicht heute noch sehr hoch stellt. Europa aber hat, abgesehen von allerhand an sich wertvollem Wissen und Koennen, vom Kern altgriechischen Wesens eigentlich doch nicht das Entscheidende erkannt. Wir

sehen es in der Bildenden Kunst. Winckelmann noch konnte den Laokoon und den Apoll von Belvedere für altgriechisch halten. Was wir inzwischen durch Ausgrabungen festgestellt haben, ist noch lange nicht in seinem nordischen Urwesen erschlossen worden. Da musste unsereiner erst ganz Asien vergleichend in Betracht ziehen und von der Blüte christlicher Kunst in Europa, der sog. Gotik auf Iran und Hellas zurückblicken lernen, um zu erkennen, dass in diesem Dreiverein allein das ursprüngliche europäische Wesen der Bildenden Kunst vorliege. Den meisten scheint das leider immer noch verborgen, weil sie zu starr und einseitig auf den Mittelmeerkreis blicken und für die eigene Heimat, den europäischen Norden im weitesten Sinne vom Pol bis zu unseren Alpen keinen rechten Sinn haben.

Dieses ursprüngliche Europa baut in Holz, nicht in Stein, es stellt auch nicht im Wege der menschlichen Gestalt dar, sondern verwendet lineare und farbige, immer naturferne Sinnbilder, vor allem aber für seine Glaubensvorstellungen Landschaften, die als heilig gekennzeichnet werden, sei es durch gewisse Schicksalsgestalten, sei es durch Braeuche, wie den der Umwandlung u. dgl. m. Uns sind diese, wie wir sie nennen, altindogermanischen Bedeutungsvorstellungen heute fast verloren gegangen oder nur in der Umbildung bekannt, die sie auf asiatischem Boden erfahren unter dem Namen "Paradies". (3).

Das Indogermanische steht unserem Christentum unendlich viel naeher als alles Germanische. Will man von den aelteren Stufen des Indogermanischen aus Anschluss an christliche Art gewinnen, so muss man viel eher von Iran und Indien als vom Germanischen ausgehen, das in seinen Goettergestalten Hellas und Rom nahe zu stehen scheint. Die Indogermanen selbst aber kennen ursprünglich einen Weltgeist, der in der Landschaft gesehen wird, einer Landschaft wie sie in der Blüte der europäischen Kunst im 15. Jahrhundert wieder da ist und vom alten Iran aus auf den Norden zurückgeführt werden kann. Das älteste erhaltene Beispiel einer solchen heiligen Landschaft, in der Gebirge einmal und dann Wasser durch Tiere umwandelt werden, ist auf einer Silberschale des Maikopschen Kurgan im Kuban geritzt gefunden worden und stammt aus dem dritten—zweiten Jahrtausend vor Christus. Die Umwandlung, die dabei als Glaubenssinnbild verwendet ist, scheint auch der Ausgangspunkt des sog. Centralbaues oder wie ich diese Bauart ansehe, der strahlen-

foermigen Anordnung des Baurisses um ein Mittellot der Hoehe nach. Die aeltesten Belege dafür stammen aus dem Ende der Stein- und dem Anfange der Bronzezeit im europaeischen Norden, diesmal an der Festlandküste in den Hünengraebem des Kreises Zeven bei Bremen. In ihnen sind über dem Grabe Kuppelbauten in Holz errichtet, wobei eine überkragende Kuppel auf unregelmässig im Achteck etwa herumstehende Saeulen gelegt erscheint. (4):

Ich verwende immer wieder das Schlagwort vom "ursprünglichen" Europa, um zu kennzeichnen, was als hoeherwertige Kultur gegenüber der heutigen europaeischen gelten kann. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um das Deutsche oder Angelsaechsische, das Germanische, Slavische oder Keltische, sondern es geht um jene Gesinnung, die aelter ist, als alle die Genannten, um das, was die Sprachforscher einst eben als Indogermanisch bezeichnet haben. Bis auf den heutigen Tag viel umstritten, gilt es den meisten lediglich als eine Sprachenfamilie, über deren Ursprung man nicht einmal im Klaren ist: die einen suchen ihn in Europa, andere heute noch in Asien. Die vergleichende Kunstforschung muss, wenn sie sich auf Grund der verglichenen Werte und Kraefte entscheiden soll, auf den hohen heute vereisten Norden Europas schliessen (5) sie muss der germanischen Voelkerwanderung tatsaechlich, wie es schon die bahnbrechenden Sprachforscher einst taten, eine andere um Jahrtausende vorangehen lassen, die "Indogermanenwanderung". Diese führte quer durch den Osten Europas, nach dem westasiatischen Kreuzwege im Zweistroemeland des Pamir und sandte von dort, wie in Europa nach den südlichen Halbinseln, so auch in Asien Abzweigungen nach Indien und China. Die zwingenden Beweise sind für den vergleichenden Kunstforscher zu suchen im Sonnenlauf, auf den er von der Umwandlung zurückschliessen muss, ebenso von der nach den Veden dreissigtaegigen Morgenroete wie der entsprechenden Tatsache, dass für den Indogermanen ursprünglich Tag und Nacht Jahres- nicht Tageszeiten sind. Gehe ich vom Griechischen zurückschliessend, also z. B. von der Akropolis in Athen aus, dann zeigt sich der Schicksalsgarten auf der Hoehe des Weltberges mit Baum und Quell, bewacht durch entsprechende Zeugen, etwa einen Bogenschützen oder von Drachen an seinem Fusse oder auf attischem Boden selbst von einer Jungfrau, die Kriegerin und Weltweise zugleich ist. (6). Gehe ich dagegen vom Altiranischen aus, dann tritt im Schicksalsgarten auf dem Weltberge der erste Mensch

Gaiomard-Yima auf, der spaeter zum Adam wird. Noch im burgundischen Stundenbuche von 1416 in Chantilly erscheint das Paradies zwar mit Adam und Eva, aber ausgesprochen auf dem Weltberge im Weltmeere liegend. Es gibt auch entsprechend diesem Denkmale des 15. Jahrhunderts tatsaechlich keinen besseren Einstieg in das Indogermanische als, unsere eigene christliche Blüte, Gotik genannt. Die grossen im Rahmen des Erdkreises einzigartig dastehenden sog. gotischen Münsterbauten mit ihren wachsenden Gliedern, die sich in Menschen, Tiere und Pflanzen umbilden, stehen noch solchen Weltbergvorstellungen nahe. Was da in Stein am Aeusseren zu beobachten ist, wird im mystisch farbigen, durch Glasfenster vermittelten Halbdunkel des Innenraumes im Altarschrein nochmals in Holz wiederholt, hier noch deutlicher anschliessend an die alte Vorstellung von einem Baumheiligtum. (7). Solche Dinge wurden in den Dissertationen meiner Lehrkanzel an der Universitaet herausgearbeitet; da in Oesterreich kein Druckzwang bestand, schlafen sie dort einer einsichtigeren Zukunft entgegen.

Auf eine zweite Art der vergleichenden Kunstforschung, den Vergleich der einzelnen Kunstgattungen untereinander wie Dichtkunst, Musik und Bildenden Kunst, gehe ich hier nicht ein, sondern bleibe bei der Forschung über Bildende Kunst, indem ich nunmehr auf jene Verfahren übergehe, die den wissenschaftlichen Beobachter bei vertiefter, weit ausgreifender Arbeit allmaehlig vom Mittelmeerglauben zum Nordstandpunkt bekehren.

Mit den üblichen Verfahren der Geisteswissenschaften und der sog. Kunstgeschichte im Besonderen kommt man niemals auf Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der Bildenden Kunst. Dazu gehoert, dass die bisher führenden Hilfswissenschaften, Philologie und Geschichte und ihr philologisch-historisches Verfahren, das Bausteine liefert, ohne sie anders als geschichtsphilosophierend verknüpfen zu koennen, endlich ersetzt werden durch die eigentlichen Lebenswesenheiten, zu denen Recht, Glaube, u. s. w. ebenso, wie die verschiedenen Kunstgattungen als Seelenbekenntnisse gehoeren. Es gibt nur ein einziges wissenschaftliches Verfahren, das vergleichende, das für alle Lebensgebiete, den ganzen Erdkreis, alle Zeiten und Voelker gilt, ob sie nun eine Schrift besassen, also etwas über sich aussagen konnten, oder nicht. Freilich muss, um dieses Verfahren mit vollem Bewusstsein und aller Verantwortung, also nicht nur im beliebten Sinne der

Analogie verwenden zu koennen, ein planmaessiger Aufbau zu hoeheren vergleichenden Verfahren erfolgen, die ermoeeglichen aus den von Philologie und Geschichte zusammengetragenen Bausteinen endlich den Bau selbst zu errichten, bei Wahrung strengster Sachlichkeit, statt zu philosophieren. Damit sei nichts gegen die Philosophie als Kunst gesagt; aus den Geisteswissenschaften aber muss sie bei rein sachlicher Arbeit endlich ebenso verschwinden, wie laengst bei den exakten Naturwissenschaften. Wie diese wollen wir unmittelbar für das Leben, die Gegenwart und Zukunft arbeiten, nicht immer nur in der Vergangenheit wühlend stecken bleiben. Um von der Bildenden Kunst auszugehen: die Denkmäler, die, von ihr geschaffen, erhalten sind, liegen hinter uns; aber was in ihnen an Werten und Kräften steckt, das kann heute noch am Leben sein und ist es vielfach auch oder kann es werden, wenn wir nur auf Grund des Betrachtens dieser Werte bzw. des Erklärens der in ihnen wirksamen Kräfte zur vollen Kenntnis ihres Vorhandenseins und der Gründe ihrer schöpferischen Auswirkung kommen. Diese Erfahrung aber gibt nur der planmaessig in vier Stufen durchgeführte Vergleich. Ich stelle die unterste Forschungsrichtung, die Kunde, wie sie Philologie und Geschichte lieferten, neben die hoeheren, die die Geisteswissenschaften einer neuen Zukunft im wissenschaftlichen Vorgehen und der Mitarbeit an Gegenwart und Zukunft entgegenführen sollen:

Forschungs-

richtung:	Kunde	Wesen	Entwicklung	Beschauer
Tatsachen:	Bestaende	Werte	Kräfte	Annahmen
Verfahren:	Beschreiben	Betrachten	Erklären	Beurteilen

Die Richtigkeit dieser Einteilung anerkennen und danach vorgehen, heisst m. E. planmaessig denken und handeln. Man wirft der Gegenwart immer vor, sie koenne nichts erreichen, weil sie keinen Plan habe. Hier liegt ein solcher für die Geisteswissenschaften vor, die doch für die Zukunft eine führende Rolle in der sachlichen Einstellung gegen Philosophie und Macht- wie Besitzpolitik übernehmen sollten.—Gehen wir auf die einzelnen Forschungsrichtungen, Tatsachen und Verfahren zusammenfassend in aller Kürze etwas ein, das ganze sachliche Denken baut sich ja auf ihnen auf.

I. Kunde, Bestaende, Beschreiben. Philologie und Geschichte sind bisher den bequemen Weg gegangen, das geistige Gut der Menschheit nach

Sprachen einzuteilen und auf Grund dieser Sprachen bzw. der Schrift allerhand bes. über jene Macht zu erzählen, die Staaten und Dynastien, Kirchen und Bildungsgruppen gründete; Besitzstreitigkeiten und Kriege standen im Vordergrund; erst neuerdings fing man an, auch die sog. Kulturgüter zu beachten. Da diese nun zum guten Teil sehr wesentlich älter sind als alles was von Sprachen und Macht bekannt ist, vielmehr, wie man sich ausdrückt, vielfach "vor der Schrift" liegen, so hätte eine völlige Umwälzung eintreten müssen, indem nun Philologie und Geschichte in die bescheidene Rolle der Hilfswissenschaften zurück, die dafür aber die Kunde von den einzelnen Lebenswesenheiten u. a. auch von Recht, Glauben u. s. w. nicht zuletzt auch der Kunst ohne geschichtliche und sprachliche Grenzen in den Vordergrund treten liess. Was die Philologen und Historiker bisher kunterbunt durcheinander in ihren Schubladen untergebracht halten, muss heraus und ganz neu geordnet werden, dann erst werden wir nicht nur für die Anfänge, sondern vor allem auch für die Gegenwart und Zukunft wichtige Handhaben gewinnen. Leider kramen die Geisteswissenschaften weiter in der Vergangenheit und philosophieren darüber, statt sich zu besinnen, dass neben die beschreibenden Geisteswissenschaften, "exakte" Forschungsrichtungen gehören, die wie in den Naturwissenschaften Chemie, Physik und Mathematik die festen Grundlagen jeder wissenschaftlichen Arbeit bilden müssen: Wesensbetrachtung, Entwicklungserklärung und Beschauerbeurteilung, wobei Werte, Kräfte und bisherige Annahmen festgestellt und vergleichend beobachtet werden. (8).

Die erste Forschungsrichtung, die 'Kunde' zunächst hat überhaupt nicht zu verknüpfen, sondern lediglich Bestandtatsachen festzustellen, wobei ich vom einzelnen Denkmal ausgehe und erstens die Feststellung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes vornehme, die auf den Nachweis der Bestände und ihre Beschreibung gerichtet ist, getrennt nach Aufnahme und Beschreibung. Dann erst komme ich zur Feststellung der Vergangenheit, d. h. zur Herkunft des Denkmals, seiner Erhaltung und Entstehung nach Ort und Zeit. Nachdem so die Forderungen für die wissenschaftliche Verwendbarkeit des einzelnen Denkmals erfüllt sind, gehe ich dem Künstler nach und suche die Denkmäler zeitortlich zu sichten. Darüber (Krisis S. 92, Forschung und Erziehung S. 62).

Die zweite Forschungsrichtung ist auf Wesen, Werte und das Betrach-

ten eingestellt. Was die Chemie für die Naturwissenschaften, das wird in Zukunft die Wesensbetrachtung für die Geisteswissenschaften werden, wobei an Stelle der Elemente die Werte zu treten haetten. Der wissenschaftliche Arbeiter muss sicher sein, dass er nicht nur eine willkürliche Auswahl der Werte behandelt, etwa in der Bildenden Kunst nur die Formfragen herausgreift, sondern dass er die Lebenswesenheit, um die es sich handelt, im vollen Umfange ihrer Werte erfasst. Ich habe, ausgehend von der Erkenntnis, dass es sich in der Bildenden Kunst des Nordens um eine Auseinandersetzung des schöpferischen Menschen (Künstlers), seiner Innenwelt, mit der Aussenwelt handle—das gleiche dürfte vielleicht annähernd auch für den Glauben und andere Lebenswesenheiten gelten—ein leicht einzupragendes Gesamtbild entworfen, das man in meinen Werken abgedruckt findet. Auf das Auswaegen der Innen-und Aussenwelt gegeneinander, das fortwaehrende Schwanken zwischen sachlicher Gebundenheit und persoенlicher Freiheit einerseits, Bedeutung und Erscheinung andererseits kommt es im Leben wie in der Kunst an; wer in diesem steten Kampf nur Spielball, d. h. wer für diesen Kampf nicht sachlich und persoенlich vorbereitet ist, unterliegt. Die Wissenschaft sollte ganz allgemein und für jede Lebenswesenheit im Besonderen Wege und Ziele zu erforschen suchen; das waere ihre erste Pflicht. Sie hat nicht das Recht wie die Kunst der Philosophie sich darüber nach Gefallen Gedanken zu machen, sondern "exacte" Klarheit zu schaffen. Dann erst kommen die Werte selbst in Betracht, die ich für die Bildende Kunst nach Handwerk d. h. (Rohstoff und Werkart) und den geistigen Werten: Zweck und Gegenstand, Gestalt, Form und seelischem Gehalt trenne.

Die dritte Forschungsrichtung ist auf Entwicklung, Kraefte, und das Erklären gerichtet. Was für die Naturwissenschaften die Physik ist, das wird in Zukunft für die Geisteswissenschaften die Entwicklungserklärung werden, die es beide im Wesentlichen mit Kraeften zu tun haben. Bisher hat man vorwiegend eine Kraft, den Machtwillen, als der philologischen und historischen Forschung würdig erachtet: darüber wurde alles andere, insbesondere die für das Volkstum entscheidenden beharrenden Kraefte vernachlaessigt. Man erzählte sich Geschichten, die Forschung nach den Kraeften blieb voellig ausser Betracht. Man denke die Naturwissenschaften ohne Physik! Um also die Gesamtheit der Kraefte vor Augen

zu stellen, habe ich wieder in einer anschaulichen Zeichnung die Kraefte-Einteilung zusammengefasst, wobei ich die Werte, die aus Kraeften entstanden, dann aber selbst zu Kraeften geworden sind, nicht vernachlaessigen durfte. Man sehe darauf meine "Krisis" und "Forschung und Erziehung" an.

Die "Geschichte" der Zukunft, d. h. die vergleichende Kraefte- oder Entwicklungsforschung wird nicht mehr, wie die bisherige Geschichte, herausgreifen, was ihr gerade passt, sondern sie wird von der aus beharren-den Kraeften, wie Lage, Boden und Blut erwachsenen Massenpersoenlichkeit eines Volkes bzw. der Menschheit oder eines Einzelnen ausgehen und deren Schicksale verfolgen, wie sie sich durch das Eingreifen des Machtwillens und seiner Gesellschaftskreise bzw. anderer Bewegungskraefte gestaltet haben. Die Kunst des oesterreichischen Raumes z. B. haftet an den Ostalpen, der Donau und Wien. Will man die Schicksale der Bildenden Kunst in diesem immer nordischen, zuletzt deutschen Gebiete nicht rein geschichtlich, sondern vom Angestammten und Einheimischen aus beurteilen, dann muss von diesen Gegebenheiten ausgegangen werden; dann erst kann man die wechselnden Schicksale dieses Naturgegebenen voll wuerdigen. (9).

Nehme ich ein anderes Beispiel, etwa Indien, so muss ich davon ausgehen, dass diese Halbinsel urspruenglich nur lose mit Asien zusammenhaengt, mehr dem afrikanischen Sueden zugewandt war und im Hoehlenbau wie der Abarbeitung von Felswaenden fuer die Herstellung von Bildwerken Aegypten (Abu Simbel) nahe steht. Dann erst kann ich auf den Zustrom der Nordvoelker eingehen, zunaechst der ueber Sibirien vordringenden Amerasiaten, die vom Zweistroemeland am Pamir ebenso in das Industal (Mohenjodaro und Harappa) wie nach dem Euphrat und Tigris vordringen. Dann erst erfolgt durch zwei Jahrtausende getrennt der Vorstoss der Indogermanen, die die Erfahrungen der vorausgegangenen praehistorischen Voelkerwanderungen nutzen und ein strenges Kastensystem zur Vermeidung der Blutmischung aufrichten. Diese nordischen Einwanderer brachten ganz verschiedene Kunstweisen mit, die Amerasiaten ihre Tier-sinnbilder, die Indogermanen ihre Holzkunst, die erst Asoka in Stein uebersetzte, die hochasiatischen Hirtenvoelker ihre Zeltkunst mit dem Muster ohne Ende u. s. w. Meine Arbeit "The Orient or the North", worin ich die Ausstattung des Damekh Stupa behandelte, Eastern Art I, 1928,

S. 69f. gibt ein Beispiel dieser auf indischem Boden ursprünglich fremden Kunstarten.

War die Wesensbetrachtung den Geisteswissenschaften in ihrem planmaessigen Aufbau nahezu unbekannt, so ist das, was wir für die Zukunft unter dem Namen Geschichte, d. h. Entwicklungserklaerung durchsetzen wollen, bis heute noch mehr oder weniger der philosophischen und politischen Willkür ausgeliefert. Deshalb konnten die Geisteswissenschaften auch nicht sachlich in Gegenwart und Zukunft mitreden, mussten bei der Vergangenheit bleiben, falls sie nicht mit politisieren wollten.

Wenn heute einige mit der Ausrede kommen, Entwicklung zu treiben sei Sache der Vorgeschichte, so missverstehen sie vollkommen den Sinn des Schlagwortes, das sich wie die Wesensbetrachtung auf die Gegenwart, so aehnlich die Entwicklungserklaerung auch auf die Zukunft bezieht. Darin liegt sogar das Schwergewicht, sobald man von den Geisteswissenschaften verlangt, dass sie endlich am Leben mitarbeiten und der Philosophie wie Politik rein sachlich in die Zügel fallen sollen. Der von den Naturwissenschaften ausgehende Wilhelm Ostwald hatte ganz recht, wenn er in seinen "Energetischen Grundlagen der Kulturwissenschaft" verlangte: "So ist die blossе Kenntniss der Vergangenheit voellig wertlos, solange sie uns nicht befahigt, mit mehr oder weniger grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit daraus auf künftige Ereignisse Schlüsse zu ziehen."

Die vierte und letzte Forschungsrichtung beschaeftigt sich mit dem Beschauer, seinen Annahmen und dem Beurteilen. Was in den Naturwissenschaften die Mathematik ist, das wird für die Zukunft in den Geisteswissenschaften die Beschauerbeurteilung werden, die die Enge oder Weite des Gesichtskreises der bisher vorgebrachten Beschauerannahmen festzustellen und zu benutzen hat, um zu Selbsterkenntnis und Erziehung zu gelangen.

Es handelt sich dabei in der Hauptsache darum, wie ich vom befangenen Beschauer zum wissenschaftlichen, d. h. sachlichen Beobachter werde. Das kann aber nur geschehen, wenn wir nicht wie bisher im Mittelmeerglauben befangen, Macht und Besitz obenan stellen, sondern von den im Beharrenden verwurzelten Kraefte ausgehen, d. h. in Oesterreich als Ostalpenmenschen einen festen Standpunkt beziehen. Dazu gehoert, dass nicht einer dem andern in ausgetretenen Fusstapfen folgt, sondern endlich wieder einmal in Anwendung der neuen Verfahren

seinen eigenen Weg suche und sich dann erst mit der üblichen Auffassung auseinandersetze.

Anmerkungen.

1. Wer sich eingehend mit diesen Dingen beschaeftigen will, findet Aufschluss in meinen drei Werken "Krisis der Geisteswissenschaften" 1923, "Forschung und Erziehung" 1928 (franzoesisch "Recherche scientifique et éducation" 1930) und "Geistige Umkehr" 1938.

2. Correspondance 4 "Civilisations". Lettres de H. Focillon, G. Murray, J. Strzygowski et R. Tagore hgg. von Institut intern. de Coopération intellectuelle des Voelkerbundes Paris 1935.

3. Ausführlich behandelt in meinem Buche "Dürer und der nordische Schicksalshain" 1937. Darin auch eines der Fresken von Ajanta.

4. Vgl. "Spuren indogermanischen Glaubens in der Bildenden Kunst" 1936.

5. Vgl. Strzygowski "Warum kann für den vergleichenden Kunsthistoriker nur der hohe Norden Europas als Ausgangspunkt der "Indogermanen" in Betracht kommen? Festschrift für H. Hirt "Germanen und Indogermanen" 1936 S. 155 f.

6. "Die Akropolis zu Athen vom Nordstandpunkte" Rasse I S. 305 f.

7. Dazu mein Werk "Morgenrot und Heidnischwerk in der christlichen Kunst" 1937. Deutsches Ahnenerbe, 2. Abt. Nr. 8.

8. Alle diese Dinge werden zuletzt eingehend besprochen in dem Buche "Aufgang des Nordens, Lebenskampf eines Kunstforschers um ein deutsches Weltbild" 1936.

9. Ich habe versucht in den Schlussabschnitten der einzelnen Bände des Werkes "Die Bildende Kunst in Oesterreich" hgg. v. Ginhart diesen Forderungen gerecht zu werden.

EARLIEST DEVĪMĀHĀTMYA MINIATURES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ŚAKTI-WORSHIP IN GUJARĀT

by M. R. MAJMUDAR

The theory of God and His Śakti has been foreshadowed in the Vedas, in the conjoint worship of Heaven and Earth (*dyāvā prthvyau*). In the later Śaiva mythology this conception finds its artistic representation in Śiva's form of *Ardha-nārīśvara*, testifying the union of the male and the female spirit. The symbolism of *Ardha-nārīśvara* was taken to explain the two main divisions of the Śakti cult, the '*dakṣiṇa mārga*' (the right-hand sect) and the '*vāma mārga*' (the left-hand sect). In the ordinary right-hand worship by the *Smārtas* (the larger section of the orthodox twice-born) in their houses, especially during *Navarātra* festival, the Goddess is represented by a '*yantra*' or by a garlanded '*ghaṭa*', and the ritual includes the five-fold '*pūjā*' and the presentation of vegetable offerings. But the most important part of the service is the recitation of the *Caṇḍī* or the *Durgā* episode, preceded and followed by other sacred texts : the '*Kālikā*', '*Kavaca*' '*Argalā*', etc. drawn from the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Varāha Purāṇas*.

In the development of theistic and devotional Hinduism, the feminine powers (comprising types of beneficent powers of fecundity and prosperity, as well as malevolent demons) could be and gradually were, incorporated into a consistent theological scheme as manifestations of one goddess, who is either Herself the Supreme Power (energy) or the Power (energy) inherent in a male deity. As power, the goddess is called Śakti and her manifold forms Śaktis.

She is in her own right the Absolute in action, manifestation and variety : Nature—all her multiplicity, violence and charm, dispensing impartially, birth and death, illusion and enlightenment. In relation to a

particular cosmic deity, such as Śiva, she is in a popular sense, his wife; and also in specific forms she engages in activities on behalf of gods or men; and this relation and these activities form the theme of innumerable Paurāṇic legends.

Along with the worship of Śakti, in many forms either beneficent or terrible, the Śāktas have developed an elaborate hierarchy of feminine figures—the Mahāvidyās, Mahāmātaras, Yoginīs etc. The advocacy of the female principle has afforded an easy means for absorbing many aboriginal beliefs into the fringe of Hinduism.

Under the influence of the gradually developing phases of popular Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of Śiva and Śakti was greatly modified; and it resulted in the right-hand worship of the mother Goddess, with identical rites and ceremonies. The central inspiration of Western Indian painting is mostly Vaiṣṇava. Vernacular poetry and painting, popular music and celebration of festivals are also the various expressions of this common inspiration.

True Śāktas are, however, not at all numerous in Gujarāt. While locating the cult of Śakti over the different provinces in India, the Śākta pandits are fond of reciting the following couplet.¹

गौडे प्रकाशिता विद्या मैथिलैः प्रबलीकृता ।

क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुजरे विलयं गता ॥

"The cult was proclaimed in Gauda, and was developed by the Maithils; it is only occasionally met with in Mahārāṣṭra, but has completely disappeared in Gujarāt."

The earliest passage regarding the worship of the goddess Durgā, occurs in the Mahābhārata wherein is celebrated the three-fold aspect of her form, representing the triple qualities of the Trinity. Two hymns in the Harivaṃśa, and the episode in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, known as the "Devī Māhātmya"² show a still further advance.

1. A kindred verse occurs in the Bhāgavata Māhātmya from Padma Purāṇa with reference to the prevalence of Bhakti, where Bhakti personified declares as under:

उत्पन्ना द्राविडे चाहं वृद्धिं कर्णारके गता ।

क्वचित् क्वचिन्महाराष्ट्रे गुजरे विलयं गता ॥

2. The text is variously known as "Devī Bhagavatī Māhātmya" or 'Devī Māhātmya', "Durgā Pāṭha", 'Caṇḍī-Pāṭha' or shortly 'Caṇḍī' and also 'Sapta-śati' (comprising of 700 verses).

The *Harivaṃśa*, probably dates from the 4th century, and the *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, almost certainly from the 6th century at the latest; for it forms the chief background of Bāṇa's '*Caṇḍī-Śataka*', an ode to *Caṇḍī* in a hundred verses, which was written at the court of Emperor *Harṣa* early in the 7th century.

The *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, though concerned with the exploits of the goddess *Caṇḍī*, curiously enough does not form a part of the Paurāṇic texts sacred to the Śākta sect, namely the *Devī Bhāgavata*, and the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, which are taken as *Upa-purāṇas*. This fact clearly testifies to the non-sectarian nature of the *Caṇḍī-Māhātmya*, which comprises of 13 *Adhyāyas* (*Adh.* 78 to 90 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*). The same episode is, however, found expanded to 35 *Adhyāyas* in the Fifth *Skandha* of the *Devī Bhāgavata*.

The goddess *Durgā* promises in the text that she never deserts a temple or a house in which the *Durgā-Māhātmya* is read daily; and this document is still one of the chief works in use among the Hindus of whatever sect, especially at and during the *Navarātra* festival in the month of *Āśvin*. It is accordingly popularly believed that out of the gallery of Hindu gods, *Caṇḍī* and *Vināyaka* are the only powerful and serviceable gods, as far as this *Kali* age is concerned (cf. कळी चंडोविनायकौ ।).

It is this non-sectarian character of the contents of the *Durgā Māhātmya* that has led to the prevalence and popularity of the theme, which is a panegyric to the glories of Śakti—the mother, protector, and the benefactor of the human race. Love, in its various spiritual forms thus permeates the cult of *Kālī-Durgā* in *Gujarāt*, where she has lost most of her terrible phases and has become the Sweet mother of the Universe.

The *Durgā Devī Māhātmya* describes in great detail the furious fights in which the goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly expression. She devours unnumbered foes and drinks their blood. It also deals with the exploits of the goddess *Caṇḍī*, who killed the buffalo-demon, emanated as she was as the spirit of light from *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*, and the minor deities, who had contributed to the formation of the *Mahādevī*'s limbs, as well as her ornaments and weapons.

The story runs that there was a king by the name of *Suratha* of the

line of Caitra, who was driven away from his kingdom by powerful enemies and treacherous friends and who rode alone on horse-back to a dense jungle, knowing not what to do. There he met a Vaiśya by the name of Samādhi, who had been robbed by greedy sons and a selfish wife. Both Suratha and Samādhi sought the hermitage of the saint Medhas for the solution of their troubles and the attainment of mental peace. The saint narrates the exploits of the goddess by whose grace both of them get the desired boons.

The earliest literary reference to the Devī Māhātmya episode in Gujarāt is the poem "Surathotsava"¹ by Someśvaradeva, the author of the historical panegyric, Kīrti-kaumudī, a Nāgar Brāhmin from Vadnagar, who was honoured as Gurjareśvar Purohita during the reigns of two Hindu sovereigns, Bhīmadeva and Viśaladeva in the 13th century A. D. It is a Sanskrit poem of 15 cantoes in the style of a Mahākāvya woven round the incident of king Suratha's banishment, who ultimately recovered his kingdom through the boon of the Devī, whose 'māhātmya' he heard, and by his devotion appeased her.²

A passing reference to the religious history of Gujarāt, suggests that when the people of Gujarāt followed either the Śakti-worship or animism, the 'garbā' was the popular folk-dance. Later on with the development of the 'rasa' or cowherd-dance (evolved from the 'hallisaka' and the 'lāsyā' of the treatises on music) Vaiṣṇavism came to be preached in Gujarāt and as a result, the Śākta and animistic beliefs were artistically blended together evolving a novel form of secular dance.

Worshipping an oil-lamp covered by a many-holed 'chetty' in the middle of an open glade, is just a survival of magical and cultural practices connected with the hunter's occupation, and the forest-lore born of it in Gujarāt and Rājputāna, now driven eastwards and southwards beyond the plains.³

1. Published in the "Kāvya Mālā" series.

2. The popularity of this theme is well founded even during 'modern' times ; it has been utilized as an epilogue to a Mahākāvya in Gujarātī. This poem is "Śānti Sudhā", by the late pandit and poet Chhotalal N. Bhatt of Barodā, published in 1899.

3. For a fuller treatment of this section, vide N. A. Thoothi "The Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarāt" (1935, Longmans) p. 303.

The next style of worship of a basket with seedlings of barley 'yavāṅkura', Jowari or rice which forms an alternative to the 'ghaṭa' or 'chetty', brings us to the lore of the peasant, who as he cleared the forest and cultivated the seedling plants from the Mother Earth, came to learn the value and the importance of the seedling process as the most vital for the successful growth and abundance of his crops—as vital as the 'chetty' with the lamp under it had proved itself to be, for the hunter in his forest home. The many-holed earthen-pot¹ holds the burning flame, with which the Goddess Śāradaṃbā scares away many a disturbance, disease and devil; it is thus a redeeming feature of the open courtyards during the nine-nights' festival—the festival of the autumnal crops—in Gujarāt.

After the worship of the hunter and the peasant, we come to 'rasa'—the worship of the cowherd, accompanied with dance which is naturally associated with Kṛṣṇa legends. In 'rasa' dance is found a greater freedom of movements, there being no central object like the 'garbo' or the 'maṇḍapikā' (the lamp-tree) or any sacred object present anywhere or on the person of any of the dancers.

All the Śākta and animistic beliefs and practices which the converts to Vaiṣṇavism carried in the depths of their hearts, as the most persistent heritage from their forefathers, could not be eradicated root and branch; hence the 'garbo' essentially connected with Śākta worship has continued to be played as manifest at least during the Navarātra festivals, and on special occasions of vital importance to the family—such as the pregnancy rites. The inner urge for dance and song among the people of Gujarāt thus bursts forth year after year, during the Durgā-pūjā holidays which extend to nine nights and days, and invariably continue upto the full-moon night of Āśvin, which was the glorious night of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's 'rasa-kriḍā'. These 'garbā-songs' and the dance connected with them are essential cultural contributions to Gujarāti literature, dance and art.

A tradition connects the sack of the city of Cāmpānér and the fort of Pāvagaḍha (Eastern Gujarāt) by the 'Mugalā Daityas' (literally the

1. The word गर्मदीप (meaning a many-holed earthen pot), with the dropping of the latter member of the compound gives us the popular term गरवो.

Muslim invaders, at the head Sultān Māhmud Begado in 1482) with the curse of the goddess Kālikā, whose modesty it is said, was outraged by the then ruling Hindu prince Rāval Patāi, when he saw the goddess dressed up like a Gujarāti lady, going round in the 'garbā'-dance at the foot of the Pāvāgaḍha hill, during the Navarātra festival. This tradition is significant in that it establishes the position of 'garbā' as an essential to 'śakti-upāsana' it being the 'ārādhana-nṛtya' (religious dance) undertaken to appease the goddess.

A 'garbo' is a longish poem describing the exploits of Śakti and singing her praise. For all practical purposes the dance, the music and the theme of the song have become necessary limbs of the technique of the 'upāsana' lore, not only of the Śakti-worshippers but also of the folk traditions of Gujarāt.

In a painting in the Bāgh caves, situated on an ancient road connecting Gujarāt with Mālwā, depicting a music party, is to be observed a typical scene from the life of mediæval and modern Gujarāt. Probably nowhere else in India are women to be seen going round in a dance keeping time with small sticks 'daṇḍaka' or 'daṇḍiā' held in either hand. The peculiarity of this dance is that the women sing while they move round and dance. The Bāgh picture is unique in the pictorial history of India, as is also Gujarāt in its preservation of an old rite and custom, chiefly observed during the Navarātra festival at the end of the monsoon.

The indigenous drama of Gujarāt—'Bhavāī' (may be from 'bhāva', the name of the 'sūtradhāra' or 'Bhavānī' the goddess) as it is popularly called, is originally associated with the dramatic performances of the glorious deeds of the goddess Ambā. These are always acted for the whole night of the vigil before the sacred image, even by some of the highest of the Brāhmins of Gujarāt. Owing to the gradual decay of religious inspiration, however, these performances, have, through the march of time, led to the growth of a secular element, based on realistic farce and contemporary satire.

The growth of such entertainments appears to be clearly in accordance with the text of the 'Devī Māhātmya', where it is said that the Gandharvas performed 'lalita'-shows to celebrate the victory of goddess Mahākālī over the demon Śumbha. In the Marāthā country, on such occasions the

'gondhala' dance is performed in honour of Ambā Bhavānī, in connection with which songs are sung in praise of the goddess, admitting of some comparison with the Gujarāṭi 'garbās'.

Śākta feeling expressed itself in vernacular in Gujarāt in the translation of the Caṇḍī episode by Śrīdhara in 120 stanzas of Dingal Gujarāṭi, styled 'Devī kavitta' (early 15th century) which is prior to the one called 'Sapta Śati' by Bhālaṇa, who had also rendered Bāṇa's 'Kādambarī' in Gujarāṭi verse about 1500 A. D. Premānanda rendered it in 'deśi' tunes, as a portion of the whole of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa in Saṃvat 1765 (1709 A. D.). Vallabhabhatta, a contemporary of Premānanda, and Raṇachhodaji Diwān, the author of 'Tārikh-i-Soraṭha' have told the story in as many 'garbās' (popular Śākta songs sung by companies of men and women) as there are Adhyāyas in the original Sanskrit text. Few poets like Miṭhu from a village on the banks of the Mahī river, and Nātha Bhavāna of Junāgaḍh tended to write more along lines of Śākta teachings, inclined more towards ritual and meditation than towards devotion and service.

Gujarāt claims to have three of the prominent Siddha-pīṭhas of Śakti—that of Ambikā on Mount Ārasura, of Kālikā on Pāvāgaḍha Hill, and of Bālā Bahucarā on the high plains of North Gujarāt.

An historic incident, illustrating how Ambikā's grace was showered on one Gujarāṭi merchant is recorded both in literature, as well as in painting.¹ The incident forms a stock illustration testifying to the efficiency of the 'kavaca' prayers to the goddess as referred to in the following Śloka : Whoever on high seas has his ship caught in a whirlwind storm, by remembering my glories described in the (Devīmāhātmya) text, will soon get relieved.

One Akherāma (Saṃvat 1770-1840), a Nāgar Vaiśya hailing from Visanagar (N. Gujarāt) was carrying on immense trade with China in opium from Mālwa, and had a firm at Mandisor. While on a return voyage from China, with valuable treasure, he and his ships were caught in a

1. A photograph of the original painting about 200 years old, at Mandisor (C. L.) was published for the first time in the 'Bombay Samācāra' (Gujarāṭi), weekly edition for 2nd December, 1934.

terrible storm. At this juncture Akherāma ardently prayed to Mother goddess (Āmbikā) for help, and staked half of his treasure to be presented to the goddess on rescue. It is said, his prayer :

"Rescue O ! Rescue my sinking ships, O Mother !

And bring us on, O Mother, to the shore !"

was heard and goddess Āmbikā, with a slight touch of her 'tri-śūla' dragged out from the storm the devotee and his cargo, which were in peril. It is reported that the ends of the 'tri-śūla' were consequently found bent in the temple at Ārāsura (Ābu) ! The firm of Akherāma Jhavera at Mandor, called "Badā Pārekhañwālā" is still well-known for its devotion towards Āmbikā, who is described in texts as the refuge of all sufferers and all who are pursued by enemies, internal and external.

The efficacy of the text as a pacifying remedy—a 'śānti-upacāra'—is also recognised in a 16th century Old Gujarātī poem. In order to relieve the uneasiness caused in the mind of Kāmakaṇḍalā at her separation from Mādhava, various remedies were tried and the recitals of Durgā-pāṭha were also resorted to.¹

All the illustrated mss. of Devīmāhātmya so far traced in Gujarāt belong to the second period of Western Indian painting, i. e. the paper-period from 1400 A. D. onwards.² Barring the Jaina and Bauddha miniatures on palm of the first period (1150-1400) no illustrated Brāhmanical ms. on palm has yet, to my knowledge, come to light. The reasons for this contingency can be summarised.

The Jaina and Śramaṇa communities achieved or condescended to achieve a systematic organization of Upāśrayas, Gaehehas and Vihāras,

1. Vide my edition of "Mādhavānala Kāmakaṇḍalā Prabandha" in Old Gujarātī (Śaṃvat 1594), being published in the Barodā G. O. Series :

"को मृत्युञ्जय जप जपार्ह, को नवदुर्गा पाठ ।

को पंचामृत पूज करइ, मिला एक सु साठि ॥"

—अंग ६, दूहो २४८.

2. For the discussion of the periods of "Western Indian Paintings" see the "Story of Kalaka" edited by Prof. W. N. Brown (1933, Washington) pp. 13-24 ; Ch. II "Miniature Paintings in Western India : 12th to 17th century".

supplemented with amenities received from royal patronage, as was actually the situation in Gujarāt, during the Hindu rule. Accordingly there came into existence monuments, monasteries and schools. To this development of a cult corresponded a literary, scientific and artistic activity, of which the remarkable results in the field of miniature painting are preserved in the Bhaṇḍāras scattered over the province of Gujarāt. The same condition unfortunately did not apply to Brāhmaṇical learning and to the artistic treasures of Gujarāt, during the same period. Brāhmaṇs, the depositories of Brāhmaṇical lore had to depend on individual efforts of preservation, patronage and propaganda.

Illuminated mss. of the Kalpasūtra both on palm-leaf and on paper, dating from the 11th century onwards, have come down to us : but no such old specimens of the Devīmāhātmya have yet been traced. However, paper mss. of the latter are in evidence from the 15th century to the 20th.

It is surmised that the Mussalman raids in Gujarāt which led to the sack of several centres of Brāhmaṇical learning viz., Ānandpura (modern Vadnagar), Prabhāsa and Dwārkā, were mainly responsible for the disappearance and destruction of such materials of highest cultural value.

The most prolific sources of materials for the school of early Western Indian miniature painting are decidedly the numerous palm and paper mss. of two Śvetāmbara Jaina works, the 'Kalpasūtra' and the 'Kālakā-cārya Kathā'. To this, however, may be added the equally popular series of 'Devīmāhātmya' and the 'Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha' mss. that we come across in Gujarāt, lying scattered over several private collections, now in custody of Brāhmin families of old literary tradition.

The reverence and popularity which is due to the Devīmāhātmya among the non-Jainas in Gujarāt affords a comparison to the respect and honour that is shown to the Kalpasūtra among the Jainas. The main points of similarity are :

(i) The extent : The Kalpasūtra is popularly known as "Bārasā Sūtra" as it runs to over twelve hundred (1216) Ślokas : The 'Devī-Māhātmya' is otherwise styled "Saptaśati", from its extent of 700 verses.

(ii) The three sections : The Kalpasūtra consists of three main sections : and the Devīmāhātmya, too, has three main divisions : (1)

'Jinacarita' or the lives of the Jina Saviours (2) 'Sthavirāvali' or the succession of pontiffs, and (3) 'Sāmācāri' or rules for monks at the Paryūṣaṇā parva, are the three sections for the former, whereas (1) 'Prathama Carita' or the first incident (2) 'Madhyama Carita' or the middle one and (3) 'Uttara Carita' or the concluding one are the divisions of the latter: the three episodes being respectively dominated by the triple phase of Mahālakṣmī, Mahākālī and Mahā Sarasvatī.

(iii) The subject-matter: The Kalpasūtra deals with legends of Mahāvīra and other Tīrthaṅkaras: the Devī-Māhātmya concerns itself with the exploits of Śakti. The Jinas were born to free humanity from the bonds of life and death. The Śakti manifested herself for the furtherance of the happiness of gods and mortals.

(iv) Time for the festival and recitals: Both the texts form an important item of the religious ceremonies connected with the festivals. One being called the 'Paryūṣaṇā parva' and the other the 'Navarātra mahotsava'. Readings or recitals from these texts extend to over a week in the month of Bhādrapada for the Kalpasūtra and in the month of Āśvina or sometimes in Māgha, Caitra or Āṣāḍha for the Devī-Māhātmya.

(v) Pictorial representation: Incidents from both the texts have been re-told in line and colour by the artists, as illustrated copies of these texts appear to have been in good demand, among their respective public in Gujarāt. These were meant to be shown over to the laity by the holy orders, who used to explain the outstanding incidents of the narrative, with the help of these illustrations, often embellished with gold and silver.

(vi) Stereotyped representations: The lives of Pārśva, Rṣabha and Neminātha, with the exception of the names of their parents and certain minor details are almost identical with that of Mahāvīra. The lives of these Jinas are illustrated in a comparatively summary fashion, while the remaining 20 are usually represented in a single illustration. In a similar way in the Devī-Māhātmya the exploits of Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī and Mahā Sarasvatī—the three phases of one Supreme Śakti are described in detail, whereas those of the Navadurgās and the other Mātṛkās are dealt with in a summary fashion and in one picture.

(vii) Style of miniatures: The comparison thus instituted is shown closer when we find that even the style of miniature painting is identical upto the 16th century in both the cases; after this period,

however, the style has gradually been modified by Rājput and Mughal influences.

The Jainas are not averse to Śakti worship; however, they do not allow Śakti the place of principal reverence as creative energy of the world. The conception and imagery of the sixteen Śruta Devatās and the Yakṣiṇīs of the Tīrthaṅkaras, disclose points of identity in respect of names, attributes etc. with those of the Navadurgās mentioned in the Devī-māhātmya. Sarasvatī or Śruta devī of the Śvetāmbaras riding the swan, with four hands, bearing a lotus, 'vīṇā' (or 'varada'), book and rosary, resembles Brahmāṇī of the Hindu pantheon. The Mānavī of the Jainas, who sits on a twig or on a blue lotus and is of blue colour resembles the Śākambharī of the Devīmāhātmya. Other comparisons with Aindrī, Varāhī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kālī, and Māheśvarī are omitted for want of space.

The most prolific source of materials for the Western Indian school of miniature painting, outside the Jaina environment is the group of illustrated paper mss. depicting the episodes of the Devī-Māhātmya.

The present paper is based on a study of 20 mss. all painted within the territorial limits of mediæval Gujarāt.

Out of the above group of mss. the following only are noticed being remarkable in one way or the other.

Early 15th century A. D : The earliest series of 12 miniatures, hitherto known in India on the subject, now in the Barodā Art Gallery is dealt with at length in the course of this paper.

Early 16th century A. D : No ms. of this period has so far come to my notice.

Early 17th century A. D : The earliest batch of three mss. in the Tośākhānā (Treasury) of H. H. the Nawāb Sāheb of Pālaṇpur (N. Gujarāt), deserves special notice.¹

1. This note is due to the permission given to me by H. H. the Nawāb Sāheb of Pālaṇpur, through the kind offices of Diwān Bahādur K. M. Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B., J. P., for inspecting these mss., which are taken out of the Royal Treasury once a year on the Vijayādaśami (Dassera) day, when the paintings are shown over to the Nawāb Sāheb by the Rājapurohita after the 'homa' where the Nawāb Sāheb remains present, dressed like an orthodox Rājput king. It was told that these mss. now forming the precious heirloom, were carried through mistake along with the paraphernalia of a Rājput princess, who was married in the Nawāb family, several hundred years ago.



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I am however, precluded from giving anything more than a dry account of the general characteristics of these mss. as permission to photograph was not given to me, on the belief that it would harm the religious efficacy of the sacred trust.

However, I am first giving the colophon of a ms., limited to 95 folios measuring 5" x 9", copied and painted by Ānandapuri in Saṃvat 1707 (1651 A. D.) at Agastya Sthāna (not identified) on the banks of the river Sābhramati.

Every page contains miniatures, some of them having been painted on both the sides, a few being full-page illustrations. The miniatures are illustrative of the text.

The other set of two mss., one being the perforated set of folios 377 in number written on one side, has notes in Old Gujarāṭi or Mārwarī prose and the portions of the text to be illustrated. The notes are confined to instructions for the artist about the technique and colour to be used, thumbnail sketches of some items, and the accessories, such as ornaments, weapons, etc. Sometimes suggestions regarding the background are also given in writing.

The notes meant to be instructions to the painter were given in black and white.

It need not be remarked that the existence of Old Gujarāṭi notes on the stencil copy of the Devī-Māhātmya ms. is a conclusive proof of its having been executed by Gujarāṭi painters. The Jodhpur ms. of the 'Bhagavat Daśam Skandha' dated Saṃvat 1667 with similar notes in Old Gujarāṭi prose for the paintings, can well be remembered at this place.¹

The one-side stencil copy, as well as the finished coloured copy measure 12" x 9", the panels being usually of the size of 6" x 10", containing usually one miniature in a panel. However, at certain places several small figures and incidents are accommodated in a single panel. That is how the total number of miniatures comes to about one thousand.

The colophon, originally written in gold letters, is "This ms. about the Goddess. was prepared by Kamāl.² It was written and beautifully

1. Vide my paper on "Some Illustrated Mss. of the Gujarāṭi School of Painting", VII All-India Oriental Conference Proceedings, 1933.

2. Kamālkhān was a pious Nawāb of Pālanpur, 17th in generation from the present ruling chief, who, because of his large bounties was known as "Kaṛṇa-Kamāl".

painted by Premrāja on the 5th bright day of the month of Fālguna in Saṃvat 1713 (1657 A. D.). The word लिख is taken to mean both 'write' and 'paint' also, hence लिखितं very literally means both.

Another sumptuously illustrated ms. of the Devī-Māhātmya of the 17th century, painted somewhere in Gujarāt at a place called Āsoyanagar (not identified) is preserved at the Art Gallery of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, Benāres.¹ The ms. extends to 59 folios, the first seven of which are missing and measures 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " ; the lettering is uniform and makes use of 'praṣṭhamātrā'. The style of painting is Rājput-Mughal. The colophon shows that a Jaina Yati had copied the ms. for the use of Uzā Ānandaji, son of Haradevaji in Saṃvat 1739, on the third day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa.

The ms. of Devī-Māhātmya written at Sūryapur (Surat, Southern Gujarāt) in Saṃvat 1776 (1720 A. D.) contains about 50 miniatures. The size of this ms. is 12" x 5". It retains several of the earlier tendencies of the pure Gujarāti style. Another ms. of smaller size painted at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay) in Saṃvat 1823 (1776 A. D.) helps to study the continuity of art tradition in Gujarāt.

Three mss. at the Oriental Institute Collection, Barodā, two at the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedābād, and several others in private collections of Brāhmin pandits of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār further establish the popularity of the Devī-Māhātmya. I need not refer here to the later series of Devī-Māhātmya miniatures painted in other parts of India, and already published.

The Devī-Māhātmya miniatures, from Gujarāt are the oldest known Indian paintings on paper, bearing on the Śakti legend, representing a school of Indian art based on old traditions, and carrying us back at least a century and a half further (i. e. to the beginning of the 15th century) than the oldest available examples of Rājput and Mughal pictures of the same theme. The earliest paper ms. dealing with the episodes of the "Devī-Māhātmya" is an incomplete ms. with about 35 folios which includes 12 miniatures, in the pure Gujarāti style. It was first discovered by me in 1934 from the mss. collection of an old pandit in Kairā District.

1. I am obliged to Rai Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Sāheb, Curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Benāres and to Dr. Moti Chandra, Fine Art Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for supplying information and sending photographs from this ms. for reproduction.

Eleven miniatures out of these were subsequently acquired for the Barodā Museum, Art Gallery.¹ The twelfth miniature reproduced here for the first time (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3) is in my collection.

The miniature containing 'Sarasvatī' was however published by me in the *Jaina Citra Kalpadruma*² in December 1935, with a view to show by juxta-position how it was identical in style and technique to similar figures in the Śvetāmbara Jaina mss. on palm and paper.

The condition of the miniatures is deplorable, the colours having all but worn out including the brick-red background. However the outline gives an adequate idea about the draughtsmanship of the artist. We are incidentally reminded of some of the panels from the 'Vasanta-Vilāsa', scroll, which are irreparably damaged. This series is important as being a valuable addition to Hindu miniatures of the Paper Period in the pure Gujarāṭi style i. e. from 1400 A. D. to about 1650 A. D.

The size of the folio is 7½" x 4½" with the miniature panel to the right hand, which generally measures 3" x 4". It has 14 lines on the page, and the writing is uniform. The fact that the scribe uses 'praṣṭhamātrā' invariably in the ms. gives some antiquity to its pages. The ms. being incomplete we have no direct evidence as to its date; but I have come across another ms. of *Devī-Māhātmya* which is without any paintings, but is copied in a village in Gujarāt in Samvat 1561 in a corresponding hand with the use of 'praṣṭhamātrā.' The last two folios bearing the colophon etc., would suggest at least that the manuscript with its miniatures might have belonged to the 15th century A. D. at the latest, irrespective of other facts like the stylistic reasons.

The concluding common line at the end of every Adhyāya, (chapter) in both the *Devī-Māhātmya* mss. is also identical : "इति श्री मर्कण्डेय पुराण सार्वर्णिक मन्वन्तर देवी माहात्म्य ।"

1. The photographs of these taken with the assistance of the Director of Archaeology, Barodā State, are reproduced through the courtesy of the Art Director, Barodā Museum, under orders of the Barodā Government.

2. This publication in Gujarāṭi is a valuable and rich album of fresh materials on the Early Western Indian miniatures from the 12th to the 16th century A. D. with learned articles contributed by several writers on the subject. The editor Mr. Sārābhāi Navāb from Ahmedābād, deserves thanks from students of Indian pictorial art as it is profusely illustrated, with several reproductions in colour and is priced at Rs. 25/. The earliest miniature of the school reproduced in this volume is from a Palm ms. dated Samvat 1157 (1101 A. D.) from Sanghavi pādā's Bhagḍāra at Pattan (N. Gujarāt),

Generally speaking, figures of women are in the background in the Śvetāmbara Jaina miniatures of the Gujarāṭī school as they naturally play a restricted part in the lives of the Jinās, appearing mainly as their mothers. But representations of the glorified super-women, with double the number of hands are met with in a palm-leaf ms. dated Samvat 1218 (1162 A. D.) in the Bhaṇḍāra at Chhāpi, four miles north of Barodā. This ms. gives miniatures of the 16 'Vidyā-devīs' (goddesses of learning), which are subsequently found to have been transferred to stone sculpture on the ceiling of the famous Vimalavasahī temple at Dēlwārā on Mt. Abu.

The representations of these goddesses are quite characteristic, as they are seen to have been faithfully handed down to the paper period of the miniature drawing in the Devī Māhātmya ms. where the Mahādevī is depicted in quite an identical way. The horizontal 'tilaka' with a circular mark in the centre on the forehead, the tuft of hair artistically twisted so as to touch the cheek, the 'mukūṭa', the 'kuṇḍala' etc. are facts sufficient to establish the direct relationship and the continuity of the older tradition in representing female figures, upto the paper period of the style. Similar figures wearing a 'mukūṭa', big circular 'kuṇḍalas', and the curved tuft of hair touching the cheek are also seen in the miniatures No. 8 and 62 of the 'Vasanta Vilāsa' reproduced in black and white (Vide, 'A Further Essay on Vasanta Vilāsa' by N. C. Mehta ; 1932).

Killing of Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa

The standing figure of the eight-handed goddess (folio 30) came to be known as 'Cāmūṇḍā', on account of her extraordinary exploit, viz., she carried in two of her hands both Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, seizing them by their locks of hair. The self-complacence on the face of the Goddess is remarkable in the miniature. The two wretches being carried in her mighty hands, held so as to face each other, add to the grandeur and almightiness of her figure.

Killing of Madhu and Kaiṭabha (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1)

At the end of the cosmic creation, Viṣṇu was taking rest—was in 'yoganidrā'—on the waters of the ocean, when two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha approached Brahmā, seated on the navel of Viṣṇu and threatened his life. At this Brahmā aroused Viṣṇu from his sleep for rescue, by praising the goddess, manifest in the form of 'Yoganidrā', on the eyelids of Viṣṇu. Then a fight ensued between Viṣṇu and the two demons.

The demons being elated with success in the fight, offered Viṣṇu to ask for a boon. Viṣṇu availing himself of this moment allowed by the demons, asked the demons as to how they would be killed. Thereupon, the demons, seeing water all around gave out that they would be killed on earth, which may not be covered with water :—an impossibility according to them. Viṣṇu seized the demons ; and putting them each on his lap slew them, the lap having formed a part of the earthly body. (Adhyāya 1, Śloka 67).

In the miniature (folio 13 reverse) two hands of Lord Viṣṇu are in momentous action and the heads of the demons, severed from the body are seen on either side of his lap. At the left hand top corner is shown the conventional sky or the clouds, which motif has later on been adopted by the Rajput painters. This convention is noticeable in about half of the miniatures. The facial expression, the drapery ornaments, etc. of Viṣṇu and the two demons are of the conventional Gujarāṭī type of painting.

Fight with the army of Mahiṣāsura

Devī Ambikā with a stern face is shown engaged in actual fight with the army of Mahiṣāsura (folio 17 reverse) (Adhyāya 2, Ślokas 6, 7) and is distinguishable from the stereotyped faces met with in Gujarāṭī miniatures. She holds a shield and a sword in two of the upper hands. With the lower one she thrusts a spear. The turban-like head-dress of the 'asura'-soldiers is peculiar. The conventional strip of the horizon-cloud is shown here on the right hand corner.

To Durgā is attached one of the best known of the Paurāṇika legends, that of the slaying of the Asura (demon) Mahiṣa, whence she is known as 'Mahiṣāsura-mardini'. (Adhyāya 3, Devī Māhātmya). As such, she is often represented both in sculpture and painting in a fierce, many-armed form, engaged in

victorious conflict with the demon, whose natural form is that of a buffalo, but who at the point of death emerges in human form from his severed neck. The present series of *Devī Māhātmya* miniatures however lacks the folio which might have depicted the famous incident.

Messenger Sugrīva and the Goddess

Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, the servants of Śumbha and Niśumbha, once seeing Pārvatī when she had come for bathing in the Ganges on the Himālayas reported to their masters that they ought to possess the jewel in the form of the beautiful damsel Pārvatī, as they had already been the owners of everything that was best in the world. On hearing this, Śumbha sent a messenger, Sugrīva to approach Pārvatī on his behalf with a request to submit to his wishes and accompany him to his capital. (*Adhyāya* 5, śloka 125-129).

Pārvatī, (folio 20) in rather a pleasant and a careless mood replied to the messenger by putting forth an excuse that she could not accede to the desire of his master, because of her previous vow to the effect that whosoever would vanquish her in a combat shall have her hand. Such a vow from a virgin, inviting challenge from the most powerful of the demons was naturally laughed out by Sugrīva, who accordingly tried to persuade Pārvatī to abandon her vow and accompany him, as desired by his master.

This miniature is comparatively in good condition. The 'dāta' is shown with a halo. The conventional cloud is seen on the left hand top.

Killing of Dhūmrālocana (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2)

On Sugrīva's reporting the interview with Pārvatī, the demon-king blazed in rage ; and immediately sent Dhūmrālocana, his commander-in-chief with a big army to capture her alive. This Dhūmrālocana was however reduced to ashes by one terrific shout—*humpkāra* of the goddess. (*Adhyāya* 6, śloka 13).

The flames of fire are shown over the head of Dhūmrālocana, who, however, is shown with suppliant hands standing in front of the goddess, seated in the heroic pose, in the 'virāsana'.

The self-same incident of burning Dhūmrālocana to ashes, with fire emanating from the mouth of the goddess is given here from a ms. sumptuously illustrated at Sūryapura, (modern Surat,) in V. S. 1776 (1720 A. D.) for comparison (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 7). It shows the flame coming out like a gush of wind from the mouth of the goddess, reaching straightway to the body of Dhūmrālocana, and catching it. The demon is veiled in smoke and partly justifies the etymology of his name. The 'mukuta' of the goddess, who is seated on a conventional lion (who looks like a tiger) is seen to have survived from older miniature-traditions in Gujarāt. The profile face of the goddess seems also to have evolved from the usual three-quarter profile of the early Gujarātī style.¹ Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 6 illustrates the same incident in a manuscript in the Oriental Institute Collection, Barodā.

Fight with Śumbha (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4)

When Śumbha learnt the news that his commander-in-chief Dhūmrālocana was killed and his army totally destroyed by the furious lion—the Vāhana of the goddess—he himself entered the field riding on an elephant (*Adhyāya* 10) to face the goddess.

The figure of the goddess (folio 28 reverse) is depicted in full action. The delineation of the lion, to be seen at her feet is in a conventional manner.

Killing of Raktabīja

Raktabīja was an illustrious fighter of the demon-camp. He was so curiously formed that from the drop of blood oozing from his body, new demons of his size and power were instantaneously created, forming a parallel with Mahīravana of the Rāmāyaṇa legend. Accordingly, while fighting with Raktabīja, goddess Caṇḍikā was at her wits' end in contemplating as to how he should be dealt with. She then ordered Kālī—the destructive counter-part of her Divine Power—to stand with wide open mouth to drink

1. This ms. has been in my collection, through the courtesy of the owner, who hails from Barodā, for purposes of study, through the good offices of Mr. Keśavlāl Pandya, editor of a Gujarātī monthly 'Śakti' published from Nadiād (Kairā Dist.)

and suck up all the drops of blood that might drop from Raktablja's body. By this device the demon was made almost bloodless, and ultimately he succumbed to his wounds.

We see in the miniature (folio 34) a smaller form of the goddess Kālī by the side of the lion, near the feet of the Mahādevī. Unfortunately the paper, colour and even the outline is worn out at several places.

Fall of Nisumbha

Nisumbha on horseback is meeting the goddess at close quarters (folio 36), and the goddess in her turn is charging arrows to the bow with two of her lower hands, the upper two, respectively holding the sword and a shield. Her front leg is just raised up as if to jump over the opponent. The figure is balanced on one hip, the other leg being bent at the knee and slightly advanced. The usual lion, the helper of the goddess is seen by her side. The miniature is, however, irreparably worn out.

Extolling the Goddess

The Goddess Nārāyaṇī, finished her mission of restoring peace and equilibrium among the various inhabitants of the Universe, by weeding out the aggressive demons. Accordingly, the Trinity—Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, accompanied by Śakra (Indra) came to praise the Goddess.¹ The gods headed by Indra praising the Mahādevī's exploits in killing Mahiṣāsura say : "It is only in thy bosom, O my Goddess ! that I find the mercy of Love and the mercilessness of Hate : You are the bestower of all gifts of the three worlds."

The miniature (folio 41) is worn leaving only very faint lines. The frontality of the face of the Goddess Nārāyaṇī, met with here is rare, excepting only in the figures of the Jinas in the Kalpasūtra mss. The Devi is seated on a wooden pedestal, two of whose legs can be seen. The proportion of her size as compared to the four figures on each of the four corners is in keeping with the canon that the principal figure should be drawn in greater dimensions.

Granting of boons to King Suratha and Samādhi Vaiśya

King Suratha and the merchant Samādhi, before whom the sage Medhas narrated the various episodes (caritra) and exploits of the goddess, as a result regained their peace of mind ; and they then practised penance and worship of the goddess. As a consequence they succeeded in appeasing the goddess, who in her turn gave them what they wanted—the lost kingdom was given back to the banished king, and the highest knowledge leading to salvation was given to the Vaiśya, who was driven away from his home by unkind relatives.

In the miniature Suratha and Samādhi, both shown with a halo, are standing with folded hands before the Goddess. The conventional sky and the Devī's vehicle are also shown.

Brahmā and Viṣṇu meeting the Mahādevī (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 5)

Brahmā with four faces and bearded, accompanied by fourhanded Viṣṇu, are seen in front of the Goddess, praising the Mahādevī, who is shown seated in 'virāsana' pose, but has a quiet and majestic look. In two of her upper hands she holds a 'vajra' and a 'khaṭvāṅga', the lower left hand holding a lotus, and the right being in the 'varadamudrā'. The conventional cloud figures here also, on the left hand, top.

Goddess Sarasvatī

The King and Vaiśya are, later on, introduced to the multi-phases of one Supreme Śakti by the Saint Medhas, with a result that a dissertation is given on the various names and attributes of the Supreme Goddess, whose manifestations they are. It is called the 'Vaiṣṇavika rahasya'.

The figure of Sarasvatī (folio 45) with a book, a lotus, a garland and a 'vīṇā' has a swan as her

1. The praise (stuti) of the Goddess which the Gods with Śakra at their head had rendered is popularly known as "Śakrādaya stuti" and occurs in Adhyāya IV. It has at least a verbal parallel in the "Śakra-stava" in the Kalpasūtras.

vehicle beside her. This answers well to the 'dhyāna' or the description given in texts of Hindu and also Jaina iconography.¹

As already noticed, Western Indian painting, as manifest in Jaina and Hindu specimens, ranging from the 12th to the 17th centuries, is essentially narrative and obviously intellectual rather than aesthetic in its motives. Apart from the function of story-telling, the drawing is nervous yet calligraphic, facile yet restless. This narrative art is folk-art used to illustrate legendary stories from the Epics and the Purāṇas, and as such it is not hieratic to the same degree as the cult image, but it is a dramatic presentation comparable to the stage.

It is evident from the bare outline that has survived the colours, (now deplorably worn out in many of the miniatures of the earlier Devī Māhātmya mss.) that it is the outline that establishes all the facts of the narrative. Though the colouring is strong and brilliant in places, still one feels that it is less essential than the drawing. The compositions, formal and traditionally fixed with abundance of details are brilliant statements of facts and at times expressive of emotions from the story of the Devī Māhātmya, and every event is told in the art of symbols. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity ; text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same fact.

A typical peculiarity of Indian painting is the kind of perspective known as vertical projection, whereby the landscape is presented as seen from the height, so that the horizon almost reaches the upper edge of the frame—nearly to the top of the page, leaving only a narrow strip of dark sky, in which are depicted heavy storm clouds. This is characteristic of early Gujarāṭi and Rājasthāni paintings alike, and may be regarded archaic ; but it is anything but Persian or Chinese in manner. The fondness of clouds is visible in the early series of the Devī Māhātmya, where they appear in layers, curved and indented in shuffled surfaces, each slightly modelled, in about half a dozen miniatures ; and the planes are differentiated in the sense that object or figure behind or at a distance is represented as above it.

This is one of the reasons why these Gujarāṭi paintings became somewhat stereotyped, common in motif and composition—particularly in angular

1. cf. Plate IV. Fig. 12, published by Prof. W. N. Brown in his "Story of Kālaka" (1933, p. 122) and also Plate IV in my paper on "A 15th Century Gītagovinda ms. with Gujarāṭi Paintings" in Bom. Univ. Journal, Vol. VI No. VI, (May 1938.).

features of the human faces and types. The scenes depicted from one story are bound to be common, as each artist seems to have reproduced those known to his predecessors, and naturally the depicting of new scenes was a rarity. This does not mean, of course, that the art had not varied in style, nor that the details of costume, architecture and manners did not largely reflect the painter's own environment nor that there is no diversity of merit in these mediaeval works. However, as time went on, new ones were conceived, and the later mss. contain sometimes twice as many scenes as the earlier ones. In any case, we see here a purely Indian art derived from old traditions.

The miniatures of the earlier series have all their strongly marked characteristics in the peculiar angular physiognomy of the men and women, and in the extraordinary drawing of the big eyes, which are unduly elongated and often projected to the nose and even beyond. Generally there is no attempt at individual portraiture or definition of facial expression; the emphasis is almost wholly on the movements of hands and feet.

The artist of the Pālanpur ms. dated Saṃvat 1713, which is the richest illustrated series hitherto known on the subject of the *Devī Māhātmya*, has succeeded in giving an artistic counterpart of the text by showing profuse scenes in line and colour; so much so that at certain places, which are merely descriptions of the epithets of the goddess, the artist has reduced every foot (pāda) of a verse into a concrete picture. We are incidentally reminded of an equally rich ms. of the 'Bhagavadgītā', in the Barodā Oriental Institute Collection, wherein 19 verses from the 11th Adhyāya describing the Vibhūtiyoga are made to yield 76 miniatures of the Mughal style, one for each foot of a verse. Thus we find that diversity in scenes and incidents is a later development in the art of Indian painting.

The episodes narrated in the '*Devī Māhātmya*' and the occasional panegyrics to the Glory of the Goddess refer to the controlling of brute-force by the Soul-force of the kindest yet the cruellest of women, the Mahādevī, which is the Supreme Power. The real '*Devī-Yuddha*' is the destruction of egotism, pride and self-seeking by the power of the Goddess that is in us and acts through us. The study of the text and the paintings of the *Devī-Māhātmya* is, therefore, believed to lead to this ideal, if properly understood.

PAINTINGS AT PAGAN

by NIHARRANJAN ROY

Geographically, Indo-Burmese paintings¹ of Burma are, for all practical purposes, centred at Pagan, the royal city of stūpas and temples on which the kingly patrons and devout subjects chose to lavish their proceeds of the fertile fields of Pagan, Myiktila, Kyaukse, Myingyan and adjoining districts. Even today, after centuries of natural decay and human vandalism, one can see temples, large and small, with their wide stretches of walls and ceilings covered over with paintings, and the number of these temples is such as to lead one to assume that at one time almost all temples with but few exceptions of Pagan were embellished with wall-paintings of some description or other. That the practice came down through centuries one can witness in the monuments of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at Shwebo, Amarapura, Mandalay and other places of Upper and Lower Burma.

Iconographically, the paintings of Pagan belong to both the major schools of Buddhism—the Theravāda, and the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna, and one who knows the eclecticism of the religious life of Pagan during the two centuries and a half the Anawrahta dynasty was in power,

1. Every student of Indo-Burmese history and archaeology knows the magnificent contribution the kings of the dynasty of Anawrahta and Kyanzittha made to the history of Indo-Burmese art and culture. For well-nigh two hundred and fifty years they crowded Pagan, their seat of government, with hundreds of edifices along whose corridors and in whose niches and altars one witnesses the products of a sculptural art showing the stamp of Indian inspiration and workmanship in an alien soil and atmosphere. Less known and studied than these stone sculptures and bronzes are the stretches of paintings that adorn the white walls and ceilings of these temples. The Archaeological Department of Burma has during the last thirty years recovered from decay and destruction hundreds of these paintings and unfinished sketches so that to-day the Department's office at Mandalay has in its archives hundreds of photographs of them waiting detailed study by experts. On more than one occasion I studied these paintings on the spot, and have now in my possession by courtesy of the Burma Archaeological Department, about a hundred of these photographs on which these notes have been based.

need not be surprised to find Brahmanical divinities like Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Viṣṇu with his Garuḍa, and even Yamunā moving peacefully in the midst of the members of an allied faith (cf. the Abeyadana and Kubyaukkyi temples). Stories from the Jātakas and the life of the Buddha, sometimes in their Burmese versions, abound, and it is not always easy to say if they were inspired by pure Hinayānist sources, for in the majority of instances of these wall-paintings, gods and goddesses are frankly from the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna pantheon with scenes of Bodhisattvas and their Śaktis in the well-known 'mithuna' attitudes. Even when they depict Jātaka stories or those from the life of the Buddha, the whole atmosphere of the paintings in which the characters move and have their being is heterodox, and that in temples which, for all we know, belonged to the Theravāda and were brought into existence by kings that owed allegiance to that religion. Compare the Thanbula and the Abeyadana temples at Minnanthu and Myinpagan, said to have been built respectively by Thanbula, queen of Uzana, in 1255 and Anawrahta (11th cent.) where one readily comes to face representations of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, and Lokanātha, to name only a few ; compare also the Kubyaukkyi, the Nagayon, both at Myinpagan (c. 1100) and the Patothamya at Pagan said to have been built by an earlier king—Taungthugyi was his name—sometime in the tenth century, what to speak of later temples like the Paya-thon-zu or Nandamanna groups at Minnanthu (13th century) which we know almost definitely were places of worship of a sect or sects that were Shamanistic Tātriks loosely affiliated to Buddhism. In a few of the paintings one can easily notice naked figures, sometimes in association with their naked Śaktis assembled round a central figure, equally naked ; in one particular scene some of these participate in a water-bout scene which is not easy to identify. It is all the more curious that these scenes appear on the walls of a temple that is Buddhist, and this unabashed nakedness is particularly abhorrent to Buddhism.

Technically speaking the paintings of Pagan are not frescoes. The artists of Pagan do not seem to have been conversant with the technique of 'vajralepa' or the method of painting as practised at Ajanṭā. The Pagan paintings seem to have been executed on $\frac{1}{4}$ " to $\frac{1}{2}$ " inch thick lime-plaster surface which in all probability was allowed to dry and had received a thick wash of white lime water. That seems to be the one reason why these



paintings are falling into such rapid decay. The most commonly used colours are white, black, red and yellow, though green and blue are also rarely used. The outline almost invariably was drawn in black, perhaps lamp-black mixed with a certain kind of adhesive substance, sometimes also in red; this is particularly noticeable in some of the unfinished drawings of sketch-outlines in the Paya-thon-zu group of temples, and not unoften the outlines, specially in drawing the curves round the oval faces or while showing the rounded contours of the body and limbs, were done in one stroke.

In the absence of any authentic dated record it is difficult to establish a chronological sequence of the paintings of Pagan. From traditional Burmese accounts as well as from lithic records in a few cases we are more or less certain about the dates of some of these temples containing these tempera paintings, but nobody can tell, except on stylistic consideration of the paintings themselves, when they were actually executed. But it is evident that we have in Pagan a continuous series of paintings that can be dated from about the tenth to about the middle of the fourteenth century, and if one is willing to continue the narrative he can go further still and find in the Upali Thein, a Buddhist ordination hall situated midway between Nyang-U on the Irrawady and Pagan paintings belonging to about the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. For all practical purposes, therefore, the history of early Indo-Burmese and later, typically Burmese painting can be studied in Pagan, showing at the first stage pure and simple importation of the Indian model, at the second gradual adaptation and assimilation of the Indian type to local atmosphere and thus creating what we may designate as the Indo-Burmese stage. What thus forces itself on one after a close study of these paintings is also the history of cultural expression of the country and people of Burma, so that Pagan indeed holds the key to the history of the peninsula.

The purely Indian phase of these paintings can best be seen on the walls of the Abeyadana (c. 1100), the Kubyaukkyi (c. 1100), the Nagayon (c. 1100), the Myebantha (c. 1100), the Patothamya (10th cent.) and similar other temples which are ascribed to the earlier decades of the Anawrahta dynasty. The last two are situated in Pagan proper, and the three others in Myinpagan. Quite a different artistic tradition of the Indian phase again can be easily noticed in the representation on the walls of

the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna group of temples at Minnanthu (c. 1250), the Theinmazi (c. 1250), the Pe-natha-gu (c. 1250) both at Pagan, and similar other temples at Minnanthu and Pagan, said to have been built in about the middle of the thirteenth century. The second phase which we may conveniently designate as the Indo-Burmese phase may somewhat be noticed in the paintings on the walls of the Lawk-ha-teik-pan temple at Pagan which may be ascribed to about the middle of the 12th century. The last or the typically Burmese phase can best be seen in the paintings of the Upali Thein, Nyang-U, as already mentioned.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the Indian phase can be seen in two distinct groups, separated by at least one hundred and twenty-five years if not more. It is interesting to note that these two distinct groups occupy two different localities in Pagan, Myinpagan and Minnanthu, Pagan proper serving as the connecting link. This had been probably due to the fact already pointed out in my book on 'Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma' that these paintings were executed by artists or their patrons owing allegiance to two different phases of Buddhism, one a pure and undiluted form of Mahāyānism with a large admixture of Brāhmanism that was tolerated by the Theravādi patrons and builders of these temples and the other a gross form of Shamanism plus Tantrism plus primitive beliefs and practices which had also a considerable following but who were presumably not allowed a habitat within the city itself. As for two distinct styles of the Indian phase, we have our explanation to offer later on in these notes, but it is interesting to find in the former group of temples, e. g. the Patothamya, the Nagayon, the Kubyaukkyi, etc., a number of writings in Talaing, a fact to which my attention was first drawn by Prof. G. H. Luce of Rangoon University. This evidently was due to the importation of Talaing culture along with Theravāda Buddhism after Anawrahta's sack of Thaton in 1057, and the Talaings as we all know had already long since before that time imbibed a large element of Indian culture and civilisation, and it is now almost an accepted fact that the urge of artistic and cultural expression that we see in the sculptures, bronzes, paintings, inscriptions and temples of Pagan during the few centuries following Anawrahta's conquest of the Talaing country was due not in a small measure to the civilising influence of the Talaings. It may not have been improbable that the temples containing writings in Talaing and other



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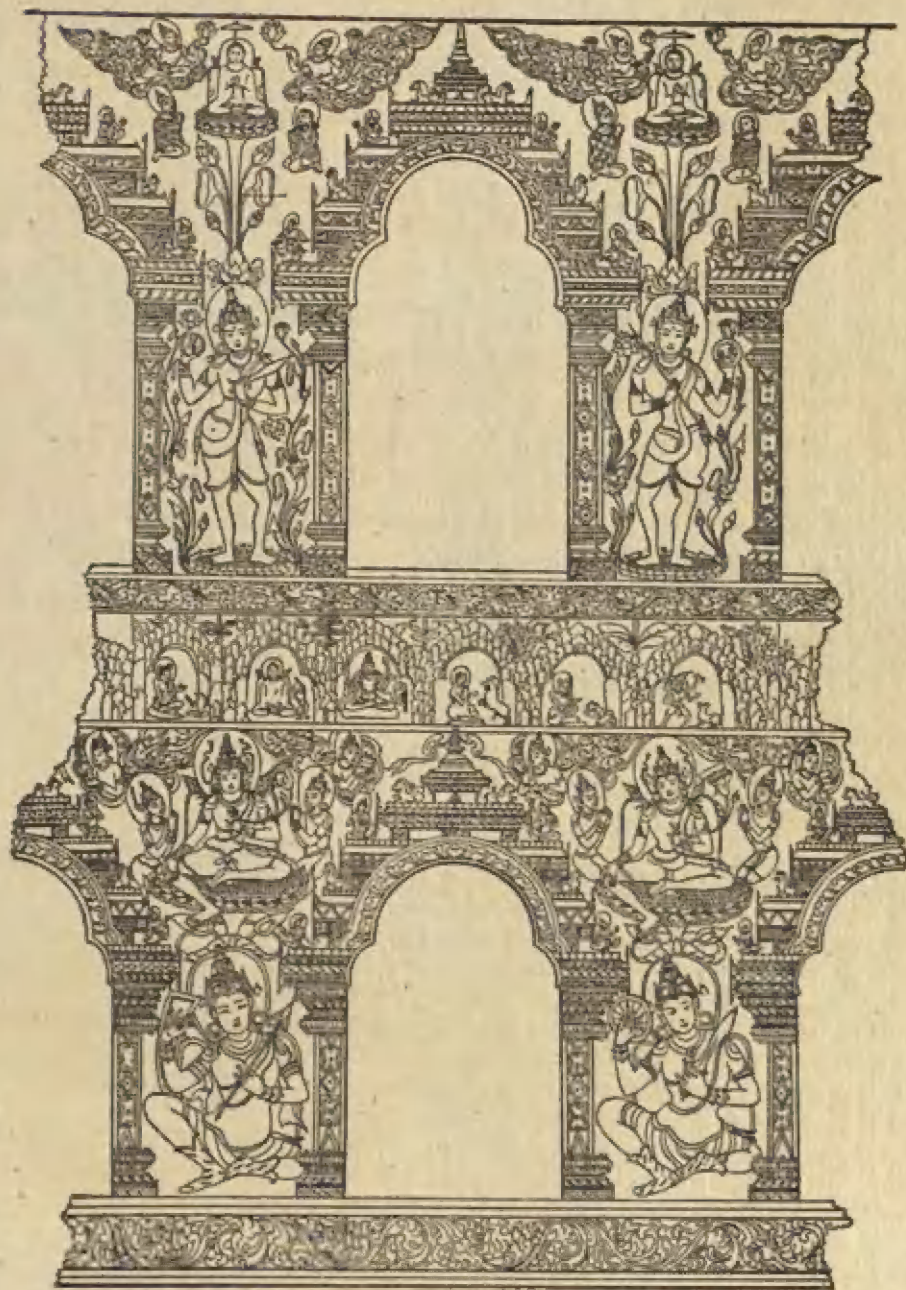
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Outline copy, Abeyadana temple,
Myinagan. C. 11th cent.

monuments belonging to the same architectural style were indirectly works of Talaing architects and craftsmen working in close collaboration with their Indian comrades. The extent of this collaboration must have been considerable, for as we have seen from a consideration of Pagan sculptures and bronzes (J I S O A 1934, No. 2) as well as from a study of the religious life of Pagan during these centuries (Brahmanical Gods in Burma; Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, op. cit.) so shall we in a close analysis of the paintings of Pagan, find that Indian influences mainly from Eastern India were a great factor in the life and culture, especially in the matter of expression in art, in Pagan of the Anawrahta dynasty.

Eastern Indian art-tradition must have been active in Pagan at least from about the ninth century, but the earliest paintings known to us, for example from the Abeyadana, the Kubyaukkyi or the Nagayon temples cannot be dated anterior to about the second half of the eleventh century, though the Abeyadana temple itself is said to have been built sometime in the tenth century. These paintings reveal an already developed form and technique, and not in a few instances seem to have been directly inspired by East Indian art forms.

Consider for instance an example from the walls of the Abeyadana temple—a representation of Bodhisattva Lokanātha (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2), which has its equivalent not only in the illuminated *Mss.* from Bengal ranging from the beginning of the tenth to about the end of the twelfth century, but in contemporary sculptures as well of the Eastern school. As in sculptures and bronzes of the period so in paintings as well, including the one from Abeyadana one can easily notice the modelled mass controlled within definite well, including the one from Abeyadana one can easily notice the modelled mass controlled within definite outlines, and the flowing curve, in the contour of the body and the lower abdomen respectively of the Lokanātha representation. So far as the modelled mass goes, what the sculptor achieves by gradations in the three dimensions at his disposal the painter does with his colours. This is equally true of representations of gods and attendants we see in the outline copy from the Abeyadana temple (p. 141); but the definiteness of the outline in flowing curves melts into the mass modelled in white colour in the representation of Śiva (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1), as well as in that of Hayagrīva, both from the same Abeyadana where the surging roundness of the flesh seems to overtake the line. Both these tendencies are in the best traditions of East Indian paintings which draw directly from Ajantesque tradition. The earlier Indian phase of Pagan paintings maintains an even balance between these two tendencies, namely between emphasis either on the modelling quality of the line or that of colour. On the whole in the paintings on the walls of the Kubyaukkyi, the Abeyadana, the Myinpagu and the like the quality is active in both, though in a piece from the Nagayon (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 4) or from the Kubyaukkyi (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3) one sees the line more or less overtaken by the modelling in colour. Otherwise the Ajanta tradition as percolated through East-Indian practice persists; whatever variations there are, are due more to the time factor than anything else.

In the Lawk-ha-teik pan temple which may be considered to belong to about the twelfth century, the facial features shown in three quarter profiles have a tendency of becoming linearised, and the colour-modelling stereotyped and hardened if not faint (Pl. XXX, Fig. 2), even in the scene of the birth of the Buddha where the 'tribhaṅga' curves of the bodies of Māyadevī and her sister are evident more in the hard



linearised treatment than in the actual modelling quality of the line or of the colour (Burma Arch. Photo negative No. 85/3502).

A careful analysis of the facial features, the poses and attitudes of the different limbs of the body and ornaments and garments of a representation like that of Lokanātha or Śiva, both from Abeyadana, would at once establish the family likeness of these paintings with those of the Eastern school as evidenced in its miniatures of the Cambridge and the Vredenburg collections. The eyes when half-closed appear in bow-like elegant curves as in sculptures of the period, when open as in the Kubyaukkyi example (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 3) their wisfulness finds adequate expression in their elliptical curves culminating at almost the corners of the temples. Both tendencies are directly borrowed from the East Indian tradition. But for eyes half-closed or open, as the case may be as in the representations from the Nagayon (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 4) one finds only white patches enclosed within their parabolic boundaries slantingly set on the both sides of the nose against a dark face modelled in red, a technique of representing the eyes characteristic almost of folk art. In the representations from the Myebantha the eyes become smaller, perhaps owing to the somewhat Mongolian cast of the faces, but the curves of the brows and the rims still follow the Kubyaukkyi and Abeyadana tradition though in a somewhat rigid manner, till in the Lawk-ha-teik pan example (Pl. XXX, Fig. 2) the curve lines become not only stereotyped but lose all their lyrical sensitiveness. Moreover, in the Abeyadana, the Nagayon and the Kubyaukkyi examples, one can see the neck-ornaments, the 'upavītas' and the 'uttariyas' following the lines of the modelled mass which means that the entire conception is plastic, in the Myebantha example this conception is still retained, but look closely at an example from the Lawk-ha-teik pan where the plastic conception is practically giving way to the linear, and is showing a tendency of becoming "mediaeval." The line is still round, continuous and will continue to be so in late examples as from those of Paya-thon-zu and Nadamanna but it has practically lost its modelling quality, and of colour-modelling we see but little in the Lawk-ha-teik pan example, fading altogether in the Paya-thon-zu and Nadamanna examples.

In poses and attitudes, the Myebantha example though preferring three-quarter profiles as the Nagayon example, still clings to Indian tradition but the gradual process of Burmanisation is evidenced in a Mongolian facial type, but most in the Lawk-ha-teik pan example where besides their facial type, the figures, indeed the whole subject-matter, are composed in a most schematic manner and according to a traditional linear arrangement. This is an element which occurs already in the Nagayon example, and persists through the Myebantha and the Lawk-ha-teik pan till this schematic composition comes finally to settle down in what we know as Burmese painting.

The gradual supersession of the plastic conception by the linear conception, in other words, of the "classical" by the "mediaeval" has nothing to do with the process of Burmanisation ; in fact this happened irrespective of the localisation process, and in Pagan it was nothing but an echo of what was exactly going on in India during these centuries. As in Eastern Indian and Nepalese paintings, so in Pagan examples too, the two tendencies often can be seen running a parallel course till finally the classical conception is more or less completely superseded by the mediaeval. In some examples from the Myebantha (cf. Burma Arch. Photo No. 73/-3340) one can clearly see the fullest plastic version in painting, of a Pāla sculpture, the modelling quality of both the line and colour, and a distant—in time and space—version of the purest Ajanta tradition. So can one see also in the representations of the Myinpagan temple, which are works of a

later date but already in the Lawk-ha-teik pan and the Myebantha (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1) both almost contemporaneous, one can still see the sweeping line but much of its modelling capacity is lost, and of colour modelling there is practically nothing, so that the body appears flat and sometimes even solid within its tight outline (cf. the lying Buddha in the Lawk-ha-teik pan example). But the linear conception that is gradually dawning is not untouched by the qualities of the plastic conceptions; the line that gradually loses its modelling capacity keeps its lyrical sensitiveness, and even in the examples of Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna avoids the extreme sharpness and pointedness of typically western Indian (mainly Gujarāti Jain) paintings, or the "mediaeval" paintings of the Pāla period (cf. Coomaraswamy, 'Portfolio of Indian art', Pls. XXXV, B-XXXIII, topmost panel on the right).

It is interesting to find an exactly parallel process working itself out in Eastern Indian painting during these formative centuries where too the plastic conception was gradually giving way to the linear, and already in Pāla paintings this gradual transformation is clearly noticeable (Kramrisch, "Nepalese Paintings" in J I S O A. vol. I, No. 2, pp. 129-35). The beginning of this linear conception can be traced back to Elura paintings; but it was perhaps in Western India that this conception found its wide expression, though in a twelfth century example from the Sunderbans, Bengal, we have one of its earliest versions (D. P. Ghosh, J I S O A. vol. II, No. 2,) and even earlier than this in certain Pāla examples, already cited. It now appears that this linear conception, wherever it might have originated, must have become an all-India property of art-conception already by about the tenth or eleventh century. Pāla sculpture however kept itself almost free from this tendency, but Pāla painting could not, painting being itself two-dimensioned. Eastern India transferred the tendency to Nepal, and as we now see, to Burma as well, in the trail of her missionaries, her artists, and her colonial adventurers (Ray, 'Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma', ch. five and six.)

The fruition of this "mediaeval" tendency i. e. of the linear conception, can best be seen in the paintings of the walls of the Nandamanna, the Payat-hon-zu group, the Thein-magji, the Pe-natha-gu and similar other temples, all belonging to about the second half of the thirteenth century.



In the representations of the Pe-natha-gu temple, the modelling quality of the line is no longer valid though it is still flowing, alert and sweeping ; it controls the rounded, but stiff contour of the body or limbs with the result that the mass seems to have lost all plasticity. Not that there is no trace of colour-modelling and plasticity, but whatever remains of them is carelessly massed together in misunderstood patches. In such examples there is a marked tendency towards brisk curves which one notices already in the examples from the Myebantha (Pl. XXX, 1) and Lawk-ha-teik pan temples (mark the conch-shell curves round the neck), and whatever amount of modelling is retained is distributed over the surface which appears flat and hardened (cf. also Pl. XXXII ; painting in a temple south of the Somongyi pagoda, Myinpagan).

What we see in the Pe-natha-gu examples in their early beginnings is brought up to their logical consummation in the Paya-thon-zu (Pl. XXXIII, 1, 2) and Nandamanna (Pl. XXX, 3, 4 ; XXXI, 1, 2) specimens, where one finds at once that the pivot of these paintings is the line. The East Indian legacy of the line lay in its two-fold characteristic, one, the modelling capacity of the line, and, secondly, its undisturbed flux and large uninterrupted sweep. The first of its legacies, we have already seen, was no longer valid, but the "mediaeval" line continues to retain, in the Nandamanna and Paya-thon-zu examples at least, its large sweep and undisturbed flux though wherever there is the slightest pretext it loves to indulge in brisk curves. It has moreover an exuberance, a vivacity that is out of all proportion to the subject-matter and is born of no inner knowledge, thought or significance ; and it is perhaps born of this vivacity and exuberance that the lines of the face when shown in profile or three quarters form angles or sharp curves in a beak-like nose, or almost an angular chin, that the bowl-like curves of the brows or rims of the upper lip are extended as far as they would permit. The artist seems to have been carried away by his lines which are with him the only means of establishing his identity with his subject-matter ; this is specially marked in his delight in drawing brisk or extended curves (Burma Arch. Photo No. 59/3206). Even in the delineation of frontal positions where there is little scope for accentuation of sharpness, the curves are as brisk and as much repeated as possible for they are the only means to show the rounded contour whether of the human figure or of trees and creepers, flowers and foliage, or of fantastic birds and animals that make up the decorative background.

It is easy to discover a superficial resemblance of this tradition of painting with that of Western Indian paintings, mainly Gujarati, examples of which are abundant from the fourteenth century onwards. Both these traditions belong to the same tendency, to the same "mediaeval" conception, but there is yet a difference. The quality of the line in the two traditions differs to a very large extent. The line in 'Western' tradition is flaming and pointed, angles are sharp almost to a geometrical point, and though there is the same predilection for brisk and extended curves, they are drawn almost without any emotion, and are not unoften broken. They have hardly anything to compare with the sensitive, emotional and uninterrupted sweep of the line replete with a melodious lyricism as one sees in the Pagan examples. The Western line has nothing but flat and hardened surfaces to control within its limits, but the Pagan line with its sensitiveness, tempered lyricism and short or extended curves as the case may be, shows off the roundness of the mass that is confined within its boundaries.

One of the best examples of this linear conception one can see on a wall of the Nandamanna (Pl. XXX, Fig. 3). Here too, the pivot is the line drawn in careful but continuous flux and with lyrical sensitiveness, and if one misses the vivacity and exuberance of its extended melodious curves it is due to the sober intellectuality that pervades the entire subject and its treatment. The attitude of the figure and even its facial expression, as well as the two wavy tendrils with flowers and foliage and the rich tree design behind the aureole are simply traditional, already too well known from Pála sculptures and paintings, and though the mass of the body has an appearance of softness and tenderness, one hardly fails to see that the conception is frankly linear, for neither the mass nor the line has any plastic significance and the softness or tenderness is in the line itself and not in the flat surface of the mass. This is particularly noticeable in the knee-joints where the plasticity of the joints is shown not by the modelling of the colour or that of the line but by two simple curve lines skilfully drawn, in the right knee by an additional circle. Mark also the stiff and flat curve of the ornamental design that passes over the left side of the body.

The linear conception of the Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna paintings is thus a direct outcome of East Indian linear conception, and they are more intimately connected with, say, for example, the Sunderban representation of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa cited above, than with the West Indian linear conception as we see in the miniatures of, say, the 'Vasanta vilāsa' or the 'Kalpa-sūtra.' The Paya-thon-zu and the Nandamanna conception is thus a near relative of the Nepalese linear conception which is also a direct outcome of the East Indian tradition. And this is quite in accordance with the evidences that we know of historical and cultural contacts of Eastern India with Pagan during all these centuries.

The last phase of Pagan paintings is to be seen on the walls of the Upali thein which was built in the second half of the thirteenth century, but the paintings seem to have been executed not earlier than the later half of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the meanwhile much water had flown down the Irrawady; Kublai Khan's army had swooped down upon Pagan and sacked the city, Pagan had lost its glory of being a flourishing capital city, the centre of political and cultural activity had shifted to the South, cultural and commercial contact with the main land of India had ceased, and Upper Burma had practically become an isolated hinterland into which new infusion of blood had been made by such northern barbarians as the Shans and the Thais. What therefore we see in the Upali thein examples is the product of the Burmese mind that had at its back a strong current of Indian tradition, and at least three long centuries of more or less isolated existence so far as infiltration from outside of any art-tradition of significance is concerned. It is therefore in the Upali thein examples that we may expect to find how and in which way the Burmese mind expressed itself.

Two representative examples are reproduced on Plate XXXII, a and b, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1935-36, one showing Prince Siddhārtha's renunciation of the world and the other showing an ecclesiastical ceremony of rehabilitation of a monk who had committed an offence. In the former scene which is secular and historical, the atmosphere has an unmistakable, local, i. e. Burmese flavour in that the dresses and ornaments, the flaming decorative designs, waving and frizzled ends of their garments, etc. are typically Burmese. Here at least the Burmese have already asserted themselves. A tendency towards use of loud colours in deep contrasts without any attempt at tonality is also easily noticeable. The compositional scheme in crowded scenes is clear and transparent but it can never outgrow its schematic character, subjects being always represented in linearised groups within parallel lines, the main character being given a bigger square or rectangle as the case may be. But when it comes to a consideration of the inner form, one discovers at once that it keeps faithfully to the "mediaeval", linear conception; the line though drawn in one stroke has lost its continuous flux and its vivacity. Devoid of emotion and sensitiveness it has nothing of the melodious lyricism that characterises the line of Paya-thon-zu and Nandamanna paintings, and the surface confined within definite lines appears to be more and more flat and stiff. Extended curves in fine or broad draws of the brush are still used, more to denote the roundness of the mass than its plasticity. Though not lighted by any inner spirit, any



deeper realisation; the Nandamanna and Paya-thon-zu paintings had at least an emotional quality, and in the best of them, also an intellectuality however traditional, but the Upali thein specimens have deteriorated merely to the illustrative stage with a tendency towards becoming more and more decorative and colourful, and this character Burmese painting retains to this day.

Now to summarise :

1. At the first stage, Pagan painting is just a component of Pāla painting ; the line has a modelling capacity and the colour-modelling is much in evidence ; the conception is thus mainly plastic. The atmosphere, decorative designs, dresses and ornaments of figures, physiognomical types, colour-scheme, composition and distribution of space etc. are all frankly imported from Eastern Indian tradition as we see it in contemporary sculptures, bronzes and paintings. The best examples of this stage can be seen on the walls of the Abeyadana (p. 141 ; Pl. XXIX, 1, 2), the Kubyaukkyi (ibid. 4), the Nagayon (ibid. 3), the Myinpagu, and the Myebantha (Pl. XXX, 1) temples.

2. The second stage can be seen in the representations on the walls of temples like the Lawk-ha-teik pan where the entirely plastic conception of the first stage is in the process of being overtaken by the linear conception (Pl. XXX, 2). The earlier conception still persists but is considerably weakened in as much as the mass shows a tendency towards becoming stiff and hardened within definite lines.

Within these two stages the process of Burmanisation is slowly at work. This is noticeable in the gradually increasing Mongolian cut of the face with a flattening tendency, the schematic grouping of subjects in parallel rows that persists even to this day, as well as in the architectural setting against which the subjects are presented.

3. In the third stage the linear conception completely supersedes the plastic, indeed the line becomes the pivot of the paintings of the Paya-thon-zu, the Nandamanna, the Pe-natha-gu and similar temples (Pls. XXX, 3, 4 ; XXXI—XXX). The line is characterised by a continuous flux and sensitive lyricism ; it has also a vivacity that finds its best scope in brisk or extended curves that are the only means of showing the roundness of the mass which is confined within its definite limits. Whatever is left of the plastic conception is distributed over an otherwise flat surface, sometimes in misunderstood blotches. The colour-scheme, composition, treatment of trees and foliage, dresses

and ornaments, the general atmosphere etc. are frankly Indian. Indeed, this stage of Pagan paintings is a component of "mediaeval Indian" linear conception that found its way into Burma through Bengal where we can see its traces in the Sunderban drawing as well as in some Pāla miniatures and Nepalese paintings.

4. The legacy of the third stage is passed on to the fourth or final i. e. Burmese stage where the linear conception comes finally to stay and deteriorate to the mere illustrative purpose. The line loses its lyrical sensitiveness and its vivacity, the surface becomes flat and hardened. The scenes become more and more colourful and decorative, facial expressions meaningless and without any ethnic significance that we may particularly associate with either the Talaings or Burmese. But the dresses and ornaments, wavy and flamboyant, the minuteness of decorative details, the general background and architectural setting impart a strong local colour to the whole atmosphere that is typically Burmese.

THE TWO RELIEFS FROM BHARHUT IN THE FREER GALLERY

By A. K. COOMARASWAMY

The Freer Gallery is fortunate in possessing two long railing cross-bars from the Bharhut thūpa, with characteristic and very interesting reliefs. These reliefs are dateable within the second half of the second century B. C. The only other Bharhut relief in America (and beside these three there are probably no others outside India, where almost all that remains is assembled in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) is the head and bust of a Yakṣī or Devatā in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The first of the Freer reliefs (Pl. XXXIV) is a typical representation of a thūpa, with divine and human worshippers. Of the former, the flying Deva on the left is throwing down a rain of flowers, from a flower basket carried in his right hand ; and the Supaṇṇa on the right is bringing the offering of a floral garland. Of the human worshippers below, a man and woman are standing with hands folded (katañjali position, as defined in Vv A. 7), while another man and woman are kneeling. Two other persons, or more probably one in two successive positions, are circumambulating the thūpa. The thūpa itself is situated in a grove of 'sāl' trees.

Considered as simply as possible, the Buddhist thūpa is a funerary monument of the Buddha's Parinibbāna, or "Complete Extinction", i. e. death or as the word (which refers to the complete extinction of the flame of life as distinguished from the extinction implied in the Great Awakening) is often but less well rendered, "Great Decease".¹ The full significance of the thūpa is far more complex.² It is essentially a domed

1. The Parinibbāna is in fact the Buddha's "third death", the first being the "descent" (avakramaṇa, avataraṇa) when he is conceived and the Nibbāna of the Great Awakening his second death. Cf. JUB. III. 9 and AA. II. 5.

2. The fullest and best analysis is that by Mus, in his monumental treatise 'Borobudur' (Hanoi, 1935; reprinted from BEFEO. 1932-1934, with an added introduction). This book is not merely a discussion of Borobudur, but a penetrating analysis of the motivation and development of Indian architecture generally.

structure, enclosing a filled space, and, dependent upon a central axis of which only that part is represented and visible which rises above the thūpa as a "mast" (yatṭhi) or "sacrificial post" (yūpa) and may be the "handle" of a single umbrella (chattra) or a series of superimposed umbrellas (chattravalli). The whole construction has thus two parts, one extending from the ground to the summit of the dome itself; and the other a superstructure consisting of the "little palace" (hammikā), a square structure which corresponds both morphologically and in essential significance to the "lantern" of a constructed dome,¹ and of the aforesaid "mast". All that is common to these two parts, all that passes over from one part to the other, is the aforesaid vertical axis. The first part, of which the floor is the earth and the dome the sky, is the world, the universe that is to say, in a likeness; the second part an extra-cosmic Empyrean of which the lowest heavenly level is represented by the "little palace" (of the Devas) and an indefinitely extended series of higher levels of reference by the series of umbrellas which are at the same time the "skies" of as many "worlds", and the crown of the "Great Person's" head in whatever sphere it may be that he is thought of as "filling". The vertical axis is the Axis Mundi: a thūpa is erected "at four cross roads", that is to say where the four directions meet (the gateways of a thūpa actually face the four quarters) and analogically at "the navel of the earth", represented by the centre of the lotus or wheel which is laid out as ground plan and through which centre the vertical axis passes downwards, as it passes through the summit of the dome above; the socket from which it emerges corresponding to the solar "eye" or "roof-plate" of a constructed dome, which "eye" is the "sundoor" through which one is "altogether liberated" from spatial and temporal conditions. This axis embodies in principle the whole spatial extension of the building, and as the 'skambha' ('stauros') that at once connects and separates heaven and earth, it is coincident with the adamantine bolt (vajra) or shaft (of light) with which the solar hero smote the chthonic serpent in the beginning.

1. And by the same token to the text of TS. III. 3. 5. 5. "Heaven is the 'light' of the cosmos". It may be added that all the correspondences assumed above are more fully discussed and documented in my "Symbolism of the Dome" (Indian Historical Qly., XIV, 1938); "Uṣṣiṣa' and 'chatra'; turban and umbrella" (Poona Orientalist, III, 1938); "The inverted tree" (Qly. Journal of the Mythic Society, XXIX, 1938); and "Svayamātrpā: Janua Coeli", to appear in 'Zalmoxis' (Bucuresti).

To this day, indeed, the builder's gnomon from which his measurements are laid out, being driven into the ground in the centre of the intended building is said to transfix the head of the chthonic serpent, and it is thus that the site is ritually "stabilised". The full significance, then, of the vertical axis in Indian architectural theory, could not be better expressed than in the words of Heracleitus, "The thunderbolt governs all things".

The body of the *thūpa* enshrines a relic ('*dhātu*', "deposit" or "element", whence '*dhātu-gabbha*' = *dāgaba*', and by corruption "pagoda") which is the "life" (*jīvita*) of the building and the physical "trace" by means of which a connection can still be maintained between the living and the dead.¹ This may enable us better to understand the important principle, that the *thūpa* is not merely a tomb or reminder of the *Deus absconditus* but also in his likeness, just as the Vedic funeral mound had been "both house² and representation" ('*gṛhaṃ vā prajñānaṃ vā*', *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 8. 1. 1) : in other words that the '*thūpa*' is an image of the Buddha in precisely the same sense that at this time the throne and umbrella, or the tree, are the representatives of the Buddha, to which honour may be paid as if to himself in person,³ and in the same sense that one or two centuries later the anthropomorphic icon is made the support of

1. The proper function of the relics as a support of contemplation is accomplished when they are said, as in *Mhv.* XVII. 43, 52 and XXXI. 98, 108, to assume the form of the Buddha and perform his miracles.

The cult of relics, like many other things of palaeolithic origin and worldwide distribution, is only "superstitious" in the proper sense of this word, that of something that "stands over" from a distant past and is no longer understood.

2. As to "house", it may be observed that the *thūpa*, or any more primitive funeral mound, is essentially a "dome", not merely in formal appearance but at the same time in the sense that Lat. '*domus*', Skr. '*dama*', is "house". In the present case the deceased is the '*dampati*', "master of the house", which house as tomb is like all other houses in imitation of the house of the universe. The archetypal house, hut or tent may thus, perhaps, be thought of as having been essentially a "domed" construction : and this, so far at least as India is concerned (but cf. the Eskimo 'igloo' and very many other "primitive" constructions more or less of the "beehive" type) may be the answer to the question asked by Strzygowski, "Whence arises the idea of building a cupola with rafters?" ('*Early Church Art in Northern Europe*', p. 63).

3. *Kālingabodhi Jātaka*, J. IV. 229 : the Bodhi tree planted at the gateway of the Jetavana garden is both its "protection" ('*saraṇa*') and a "place where service can be paid" ('*pūjanīyatthāna*') to the Tathāgata in his temporary absence ; "It shall be my duly appointed residence" ('*nibaddhavāsa viya*'). Thus the Tree represents the Buddha when he is not in residence in the Gandhakuṭi. On the other hand a "shrine of bodily relics" ('*sarīraka cetiya*') is impracticable so long as a Buddha has not yet been completely extinguished ('*parinibbuto-kāle*') : but it is implied that when this event has taken place, the Buddha can as well be represented by a shrine of bodily relics, i. e. *thūpa*, as by the Tree.

contemplation : the euhemerism of the Pali texts, which treat the Buddha's advent as an historical event, anticipating and, so to say, necessitating the subsequent iconographic development.

In its anthropomorphic aspect the body of the thūpa consists of three parts, dome, drum and base corresponding to skull, torso and feet : "Prajāpati's crudest form, this cosmic form. Its head is sky ('svar'), the space ('bhuvas')¹ the navel, feet the earth ('bhūr') ; the eye is the sun.... the essential-spirit of all, the eye of all².... This is the all-supporting form of Prajāpati ; this whole world is hidden in it, and it in this whole world" (MU. VI 7, cf. AV. X. 7, 32), where we have only to substitute the "Great Person" ('mahā purisa') of the Buddhist texts for the Prajāpati or Puruṣa of the Upaniṣad. We have already referred to the "eye of the dome" through which the light of heaven strikes into the finite space enclosed (regardless of its solidity, which corresponds to the fact that there is no vacuity in space, and repeats the representation of the world-space by the solid construction of the Vedic Fire-altar, which is likewise the cosmic body of "Agni-Prajāpati") : we recognize now that in the anthropomorphic analysis this "eye of the dome" (architecturally the socket of the "mast") corresponds to the foramen of the skull from which a shaft of light emerges conversely upwards, in accordance with the 'Lalita Vistara' (Lefmann, p. 3), describing the "ray by name the 'Ornament of the light

1. 'Bhuvas', originally n. pl. of 'bhū' as place of becoming, locus of birth. For 'bhū' as place of origin in this sense cf. RV. X. 72. 4 'bhuvas āśās ajāyata', "from 'be' the quarters were brought forth". 'Bhū' is thus the centre, the "navel" and source from which the area of any locus ('loka', world) is extended, and 'bhuvas' in the plural the whole series of such centres which form collectively the Axis Mundi extending from earth to heaven, and whole series of corresponding levels, and thus the atmosphere, 'antarikṣa'. It is, no doubt, because the drum of the thūpa (like the body of an altar) corresponds to the body (as distinguished from the head and feet) of the cosmic Person, and at the same time to the atmosphere (as distinguished from the sky and earth) of the cosmos itself that the floral garlands with which both thūpa-drum and altar-sides are decorated at Bharhut are carried by birds ; as in our relief. It may be remarked also that when the thūpa-drum is also decorated with applied slabs of carved stone, these are called a "mantling" or "coat" ('kañcukā'), being in fact a "garment" which covers the "body" of the cosmic Person.

2. "For the Person's great dimensioned world depends upon the eye, inasmuch as it is with the eye that he ranges dimensioned things. Truly, the eye is the Truth : for stationed in the eye it is that the Person moves about amongst all objects" (ib.). The identification of the Sun with the "Eye" throughout the Vedic tradition is reflected in the frequent designation of the Buddha as "the eye in the world" ('cakkhum loke'), e. g. D. II, 158 "Too soon has the eye-in-the-world gone in" (in the sense that the sun is said to "go down", or in Skr. "go home", an expression also used of the Arhat).

of discrete gnosis, the reminder of former Buddhas¹ which in the synthesis called the 'Disposition of the Buddha's ornaments'² arises above the head from out of the opening in the turban ('uṣṇīṣa-vivantarāt')³ set upon it". The thūpa with a mast is thus the formal equivalent of the later anthropomorphic image of the Buddha in 'alaṃkāra-vyūha samādhi', especially familiar in Siamese art, in which the 'āloka-alaṃkāra raśmi' rises in the form of a flame from the 'uṣṇīṣa' (now interpreted as a cranial protuberance).⁴

The foregoing mention of 'uṣṇīṣa', "turban" (the word had originally never any other meaning) leads us to mention here one of the most striking details of the architectural terminology, the designation viz. of the coping of the railing by which a thūpa is enclosed, adorned and guarded : for whereas elsewhere the "top" of any wall is always 'śīṣa' or 'matthaka', here because the thūpa itself, qua "dome", is the veritable head of the Great Person, the coping of the railing, which encircles the "head" like a riband, is called precisely 'uṣṇīṣa', "turban". The Person, in other words, whom

1. 'Pūrva-buddha-anupasmṛty-asaiṅga-ājñāna-āloka-alaṃkāra nāma raśmi'.

2. Buddha-alaṃkāra-vyūha nāma samādhi.

3. It is again in virtue of a gnosis (jñāna) that it is said in the 'Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka', of a certain Bodhisattva that "the turban on his head is shining" ('mūrdhny-uṣṇīṣo vibhātī'). Our translations assume that in these passages 'uṣṇīṣa' has not yet acquired its later meaning of "cranial protuberance," and that 'vivara' refers to the opening in the turban, of which the folds never actually cover in the top of the head. On the other hand, it is quite possible that 'uṣṇīṣa' in these contexts already means "cranial protuberance", in which case 'vivara' will be "foramen" ('brahmarandhra, śīma, vidṛti') : and this is the more likely inasmuch as Pali 'vivara' is often "exit" in the sense of "way out" of the world, a way out that the Buddha has found and connected with which is his epithet of 'vivaṭa-ecchada', the "Unroofed", with reference not merely to his having abandoned the household life and "having not where to lay his head" but much more to his having "broken out of the cosmos", and as so many Arhats are said to "break through the roof-plate" of any house from which they are departing, and as the Buddha himself exults in having shattered the roof of the house of life (J. I. 76). The Buddha, in other words, is hypethral, like the Bodhi-tree by which he may be represented in shrines ('cetiya') that are certainly 'vivaṭa-ecchada'.

Whatever meaning we attach to 'uṣṇīṣa' in a given context ('uṣṇīṣa' is still "turban" in J. V. 129 'uṣṇīṣam aśe paṭimuncitvā', cf. RV. X. 27. 13 'śīrṣṇā śīrah prati dadhau varūtham') Dr. Kramrisch is wholly right in comparing the cranium itself with the thūpa "in form and meaning" and in seeing in the elevation of the cranial protuberance a representation of "the higher possibilities of being", for whatever "world" we may be considering, "the sky is his head" (AV. X. 7. 33).

4. Cf. BG. XIV. 11 'When the gnostic light arises ('prakāśa upajāyate, jñānam yadā') from the doorways of the body, then it may be known that the man is full grown". It is indeed precisely as a full-grown person that the Buddha manifests this light ; it is in "synthesis" ('samādhi'), precisely, that a man's full stature is attained, then only is he truly 'bhavitattā, mahattā'.

the thūpa represents, is architecturally 'unhīso-sīso', in accordance with D. II. 19 and III. 145.

To return now to what is architecturally a dome, anthropomorphically the crown of the Great Person's head and cosmically the sky-roof of the world : let us first of all observe that in the contemporary wooden dome, the construction of rafters converging towards and resting against a circular roof-plate ('kaṇṇikā') representing the sun, "the one lotus of the sky" (BU. VI. 3. 6) is just that of an umbrella of which the ribs¹ unite at their point of contact with the handle ; and that so also functionally, the quality of giving shade or shelter ('chāyā') is common to 'chadana', "roof" and 'chattra' "umbrella". All this is in accordance with the fact that the head of the Great Person is of the form of an umbrella ('chattrākāra-śīrṣaḥ' or '-śīrṣaḥ', Divyāvadāna passim) as well as coronate or turbaned ('unhīso-sīso').

The word thūpa (Sk. 'stūpa') being primarily the head or top of anything (and perhaps even also etymologically "top", "toft", "toupee" etc., cf. 'topi' "hat" and "tope" = thūpa or any mound), e. g. tree-top in RV. I. 24. 7, head or point of flame in III. 29. 3 and VII. 2. 1, golden head of an Āṅgiras in X. 149. 5, the top or top-knot of Viṣṇu's head in VS. II. 2, explained in ŚB. I. 3. 3. 7, by 'śikhā', "top", "flame", etc., cf. 'śikhara' as "spire"² : and architecturally "dome", e. g. Śāṅkh. Gr. S. III. 3. 7, J. VI. 117,

1. 'Śākhā', Sn. 688 : the designation of the ribs as "branches" corresponds to the fact that the symbolism of the umbrella coincides with that of the tree with its overspreading branches, the handle of the one and the trunk of the other literally standing for the Axis Mundi. In the same way the word 'chattra' itself corresponds to 'channa' as "roof" (here, roof of the world) and 'chāyā' as shade and shelter ; the umbrella is in fact a portable roof.

2. "Spire" is etymologically "spear" or "spar" ; at the same time, a hermeneutic reference of "spire" to "aspiration" would be in order, since it is precisely with the "up-breath" or "aspiration" ('udāna') that one attains to higher and higher levels of reference. Nor must the basic sense of "point of flame, or light" in 'śikhā' be overlooked. The single lock of hair ('śikhā') left on the shaven Brahman's head (like the Amerindian's "scalp-lock") corresponds to the mast of the thūpa and spire of a church ; it literally points out the way by which the spirit ascends through the scapular foramen when we "give up the ghost" ; it represents extensions of being beyond the human level of reference which ends with the crown of the head. Various forms of exalted headdress are of similar import.

The 'śikhara' as an architectural form is built up by a reduplication of roofs (Parmentier, in 'Etudes Asiatiques', II, 1925, pp. 229-233), just as the series of umbrellas forming a 'chatravalli' is a series of roofs ; the 'āmalaka' (represented at intermediate levels by quarter-āmalakas at the angles, equivalent to positions of the sun in the four quarters) is evidently the original roof-plate ('kaṇṇikā') or a dome or



Mhv, XXXI. 13: we have a verbal parallel to the morphological equivalence of thūpa as "dome" with the head of the cosmic Man whom it represents. The thūpa is thus, as Barua has independently ('Barhut' III, p. 11) pointed out, synonymous with that to which it corresponds, which it may contain as a relic, and which in fact it resembles. As to this resemblance, it may be remarked that the oldest Indian thūpas, e. g. that of Piprahwā, where the diameter is 116 and the height only 22 feet are more nearly cranial in form than are the heightened types of later periods; and the universality of the principle is illustrated by the fact that "British barrows (tumuli) vary with the head types contained therein. The Neolithic long barrows contain sepultures with long crania. On the other hand, round barrows of the Bronze age yield round or brachycephalic crania" (McCurdy, 'Human Origins', 1924, II. 296).

The first Mahākapi Jātaka (No. 407, J. III. 370 f.) contains analogous material of the greatest significance for the understanding of the form of a thūpa. Here the Bodhisattva (the "Great Monkey") dies and his body is given royal obsequies. After the cremation, the cranium ("śīsa-kapāla") is inlaid or bound with gold (cf. 'hiraṇya-stūpa' in RV. X. 149. 4) and set up on a spearpoint at the king's gate and honoured ('pūjaṃ karesi') with a lamp, perfumes, garlands, etc. Then taking it as a relic ('dhātu') the king makes a shrine ('cetiya') for it and honours it all his life long in the same way. It is sufficiently clear that the Bodhisattva's 'cetiya' here must have been in fact a 'dhātu-gabbha' or thūpa like a Tathāgata's: but what is of special interest is the fact that the skull set up on a spear is already an umbrella in effect, and like the dome of the thūpa in relation to its vertical axis.

The equivalence of dome to umbrella and of both to cranium having been thus developed (the significance of the umbrella in the history of Indian architecture has long since been pointed out by others, especially

corresponding ornament in the centre of a flat ceiling, and as such represents the sun in the most exalted zenith, covering what in a ruined temple from which the 'āmalaka' has fallen down becomes a visible foramen; one might even compare such a ruination to a post mortem trepanning such as is known to have been practised by neolithic man in many parts of the world.

The multiplication of umbrellas (for which we have a textual authority in Sn. 688, 'sahasā-maṇḍalam chattam', where as usual it is to be understood that "a thousand means everything") corresponds to the multiplication of upper storeys of which a spire is constituted.

Simpson and Longhurst), it only remains to say again that the elevation of one or more umbrellas above the dome of the thūpa refers to the elevation of the crown of the Great Person's head in whatever sphere it may be that he is thought of as omnipresent ; for which elevation specific authority can be cited in the 'Lalita Vistara' (Lefmann, p. 424), 'anavalokita-mūrdhna ity ucyate sarvalokādabhyudgatatvāt', "He is called 'He whose head is out of sight' because of it rises far above all worlds".

From all that has been said above, it follows that the thūpa, in representing the "complete extinction" ('parinibbāna', a word that also means perfecting and can be used in this sense with respect to the completion of successive steps in the training of a noble horse, M. I. 446)¹ of the Wake, is a representation of the "whole" Buddha cosmic and supra-cosmic, immanent and transcendent, just as the Vedic Fire-altar had been a representation and construction of the "whole" ('kṛtsna') Agni-Prajāpati, "limited and unlimited" ('parimitāparimita')² "expressed and unexpressed" ('niruktānirukta') together with all the other contraries (not "opposites", because there is no "opposition" of finite and infinite, of which the former is included in and does not limit the latter, as appears in connection with the axis of the whole structure of which axis the undetermined and immeasurable length is not in any way affected by the delimitation of a "part" of this length by the ground and roof of the thūpa itself, which represents the universe, the realm of dimension and number,—'māna, saṅkha'). And just as in building the Fire-altar, if indeed it is himself that the sacrificer builds into it (an aspect of the work upon which M. Mus has so rightly insisted), it is himself that he is at the same time making

1. With 'parinibbāna' in this sense compare our word "finish", of which the reference may be either (1) to the end or death of any operation and/or (2) to the perfection of the thing that has been a-making, when all has been done that had to be done ('kataraṃ karaṇīyaṃ'). The logic of thus employing a word that means in the last analysis a despiration or death depends upon the fact that all change is a dying (cf. A. II. 82. 'tato cuto' "dying thereto", with respect to the abandonment of a trade), and all spiritual development a standing upon stepping stones of our dead selves : the completed spiritual development represented by the term 'bhāvitattā' and implied in 'parinibbuto' being a final death to all selfhood. In this sense 'parinibbuto', although commonly referring to the actual decease of an Arhat or Buddha, can mean "having become a 'finished' product", without any necessary reference to the actual death of the body.

2. "What is within the altar is its delimited form ; what is without the altar is the unlimited space" (KB. VIII. 5). The representation as a whole is "within and without", i. e. immanent and transcendent ; cf. the "within and without all this" of Isā Up. 5.

whole again (the immanence of the deity having implied a descent from unity to multiplicity which descent is literally an "undoing" ('visraṇsana'), an unstringing of the joints, 'parvāni', and hence death), so the worshipper who really verifies or realises ('sacchikaroti') in person the significance of the thūpa and identifies himself with the "finished" Buddha which it depicts returns with him from multiplicity to unity : "and having been many, become one" (S. II. 212, etc.), which is the same as to "die".

The thūpa, like other Buddhist works of art (too long neglected by the student of "Buddhism" as such) is thus as much an exposition of Buddhist doctrine as are the Piṭakas themselves. In our exposition we have considered the thūpa as an eloquent monument and born in mind that the purpose of Buddhist oratory had always been, not to evoke an aesthetic thrill, but to communicate a truth, and thus, as Dante says of his own 'Commedia', "to lead men from the state of misery to the state of blessedness". An exegesis is at least as necessary for works of traditional plastic as it is for works of traditional literary art, of which the beauty is not an end in itself but the attractive aspect of their content. An exegesis is necessary (and even much more so now than then), inasmuch as men are too often "aware of the narrative ('ākhyāna') only as such, and thus live under the yoke of death", and being "literalists" ('padaparama') must be "led" ('neyya', A. II. 135) : "the picture is not in the aesthetic surfaces" (LS. II. 117) ; and so for the reliefs, as for the texts, "When the analysis of meanings in their literal and in their symbolic senses has been verified" ('attha-paṭisambhidā sacchikatā odhiso vyañjanaso') must "explain them by many paraphrases, teach and clarify them, make them intelligible, establish them, open them up, dissect them and spread them out" (A. II. 160)¹.

In our relief there are represented both divine and human worshippers, and of the latter some are showing their respect to the "finished" Buddha (certainly not to the monument as such, any more than in the case of the cult of anthropomorphic images, where it is not the clay as

1. A full justification of our rendering will be made elsewhere. Here we shall only say that the PTS. Pali Dictionary in making 'vyañjana' the "letter" and 'attha' the "spirit" reverses the real values of these terms : Pali 'vyañjana' is anagogy, just as Skr. 'vyañjana' is for the mediaeval rhetoricians the flavour ('rasa') of a word as distinguished from its mere denotation ('abhidhā'). In the present context 'odhiso' derives from 'avadhā', analogous to 'abhidhā', "denotation" ; and it may be observed that the application can be made not only to verbal symbols but also to such other symbols as are called 'dhātu', things "deposited", in the same sense that 'abhidhā' is what is immediately "laid down" in a verbal formulation.

such, but the Immortals represented by it to whom honour is paid, as is taken for granted in 'Dīvyāvadāna', ch. XXVI) by making the gesture of the folded hands ('añjali'), the Oriental as it is the European attitude of prayer; while two others, or more probably one seen twice, circumambulate the thūpa, making a right hand or sunwise turn. All this answers to what can be cited from the texts: "The body of a Tathāgata should be treated as they treat the body of a Cakravartin king"—that is to say, duly wrapped and cremated on a funeral pyre ('citaka'), cf. also the Mahākapi Jātaka as cited above—after which "a thūpa should be erected to the Tathāgata at four cross roads.¹ And whoever shall there place garlands, or perfume, or colour,² or shall make salutation there,³ or clarify his disposition there,⁴ that shall be for their lasting good and happiness.... There, where the clansman having faith can say 'Here the Tathāgata was completely extinguished ('parinibbuto') with that attainment of 'nibbāna' that is without residuum of assumption' it is for him a beautiful and

1. I. e. analogically at the navel of the earth and centre of the universe, whence the four directions proceed and to which they converge. Cf. RV. X. 5. 6 where Agni stands as a Pillar of Life "at the parting of the ways" and TS. IV. 2. 5. 5 where Savit's station is "at the meeting of the ways".

2. Probably with reference to the application of "five-finger marks" such as are shown in our relief (and many others) at the base of the thūpa: see Vogel, "The sign of the Spread Hand or 'Five-finger Token' ('pañcaṅgulika') in Pali literature", 'Verlag. en Mededeel. d. k. Akad. v. Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde', 5 e Reeks, Deel IV, Amsterdam, 1919.

It will be observed that in our relief, the base of the thūpa is decorated with a row of five-finger marks ('pañcaṅgulika-pantika' as in Mhv. XXXII. 4). Similar ornaments appear on representations of altars at Bharhut. All these, as Vogel says (p. 222) are (in the reliefs) not representations of the real handmarks of worshippers, but representations of ornaments which are themselves imitative of the handmarks applied by actual worshippers, perhaps as a kind of signature. Similar handmarks are of prehistoric antiquity, occurring for example abundantly in Palaeolithic caves, where also their purpose is assumed to have been "magical".

3. 'Abhivādessanti' is not merely "shall make salutation" but implies at the same time a circumambulation, as in D. I. 125 where Sopadapāda "saluted the Blessed One, and circumambulating him, departed" ('bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhipaṃ katvā pakkāmi').

4. 'Cittam pasādessanti' (=cittam sappabhāsam bhaveti, S. V. 263): 'pasādati' is literally to "settle down" and thus "clear up", as muddy water "clears" when its impurities sink, or as weather clears up after a storm. 'Citta' implies both "thinking and willing" (cf. the equivalence of 'man' and 'kam' in many contexts, Kāmadēva as Manobhava, and our "to have a mind to" in the sense of "want to"). 'Cittam pasādessanti tesam tam bhavissati digharattam hitāya sukhāya' is therefore essentially the same as Jacob Behmen's "Blessed art thou if thou canst stand still from self thinking and self willing."

The related words 'pāsāda' in the sense of "storeyed building" (from the security of which one looks down upon the troubled world), and 'pāsādika', "bright" (Lat. 'claris'), and in this sense "beautiful", may be remarked.

deeply-moving place ('dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ tñānam')...And there will come to such places¹ brethren and sisters and lay disciples having faith who will say 'Here the Tathāgata...'; and if any of those who are on pilgrimage to such a shrine ('cetiya') should die with a clarified disposition, all they when they are cut off from the body, after death will rise up in the well-gone² heaven world" (D. II. 161 and 140-141). In the foregoing text, 'dassanīyaṃ', literally "sightly" or "sightworthy" is one of the regular words for "beautiful", and there can be no doubt that an aesthetic experience is referred to, no doubt that here 'id quod visum placet' is for those that are thus pleased, a thing of beauty :³ 'saṃvejanīyaṃ', literally "stirring" or "thrilling" is not the "thrill" of this sensation, but a being "moved" in the sense that it is the purpose of the work of art, not merely 'delectare', but far more 'probare, movere' (or 'docere, flectere'). Here, if anywhere, "Art has to do with cognition"; the "thrill" is one of understanding. A. I. 36 points out that it is rather the few than the many that are thus "thrilled" ('appakā te sattā ye saṃvejanīyesu tñānesu saṃvijjanti'), or being thrilled make any radical effort ('yoniso padahanti', better perhaps "are inwardly fired"), or grasp the flavour⁴ of the meaning ('attha-rasassa....lābhino'). We have plenty of other contexts in which it is enjoined that monks and nuns should not look at works of (presumably secular) art "for the sake of pleasure": in those cited above we have, on the other hand, an explicit

1. The text has, in fact, in view four such "places", viz. the sites of the Nativity, Great Awakening, First Promulgation, and Full Extinction.

2. 'Sugatim', literally "well-gone" (cf. Sugata as a Buddha epithet), or "well-fared".

3. The coincidence of visibility with beauty is implied in the customary designation of the Sun as the "conspicuous" ('drāyantaḥ', RV. VIII. 66. 4, 'paśyataḥ', JUB. I. 57. 5, etc). 'Id quod visum placet' is not, of course, with reference to the merely physical perception of the aesthetic surfaces, but to their "comprehension" and in the way in which we still say "I see" meaning "I understand"; the object of 'placet' is not an 'oculum' but an 'animam', as in Witelo, 'De perspectiva' IV. 148, 'Pulchritudo comprehenditur ex comprehensione formarum visibillum placentium animae'. One does not really 'see' what is merely conspicuous, but that which is also perspicuous.

4. 'Rasa' in older contexts is often rendered by "essence" (in the sense of "extract"), but this is unsatisfactory for many reasons, and in the first place because "essence" is needed for use in its proper and primary sense of "being" ('esse' or 'id quod est') : a 'sattva' for example, is an essence inasmuch as is that which has 'esse'. Our rendering of 'rasa' by "flavour", not only in 'ālaṃkāra' contexts but elsewhere, exactly parallels the idea of "knowledge by assimilation" (conformity by incorporation) in connection with which, moreover, we still speak of "digesting" an idea. The connection of knowledge with tasting inheres in the word 'sapientia' itself, "quasi sapida scientia, seu scientia cum sapore, id est cognitio cum amore" (St Thomas, 'Sum. Theol.', I. 43. 5 and II-II. 45. 2 and 46. 1, with further references),—"cognitio cum amore" being precisely "philosophia", or "wisdom" as distinguished from merely empirical observation.

indication of the simultaneously aesthetic and intellectual experience to be derived by the believing Buddhist from specifically Buddhist works of art (such as we are considering), and of the fact that these works of art had for their *raison d'être* not simply to please or "decorate", but to demonstrate a picture that is rather referred to than given by the aesthetic surfaces themselves, and to induce in the spectator a corresponding interior activity and disposition. In the present case there can be no doubt as to the nature of this disposition; for although we cannot say on other grounds that a 'śānti-rasa' had yet been recognized by the systematic rhetoricians, it is certain that the "flavour" ('rasa') to be grasped here was precisely that of "peace" ('śānti'), the disposition that of one who "is at peace, delights in the state of peace, and wears his last body" (A. II. 18), "the perfect peace, 'nibbāna', state of 'no-whence-fear'" (A. II. 24). In the last analysis, the work of art is an exposition, which assumes on the one hand a qualified expositor both of the letter and the principle ('attha, dhamma' II. 7 and A. II. 151; 'attha, vyañjana', A. V. 23), and on the other a similarly qualified auditor: in the particular case of our relief we have tried to play the part of the former, and may hope that the reader will play the part of the latter.

The second of the Freer Gallery reliefs (Pl. XXXV) can be more briefly described. What we see in it is a two-storeyed building within which the Buddha, represented by altar, wheel and umbrella, is in residence and beside him are four worshippers, two males standing and two females kneeling. On the right and approaching the spectator are a king and his charioteer in a two-horsed chariot. The front of the same procession, which is apparently circumambulating the building, consists of a horseman and a rider on an elephant, both seen from behind; the horseman has just passed through the gate of the 'ārāma' in which the building stands, the latter is having difficulties with his mount which has stopped and reared up to pull down the branch of a tree. What remains of the inscription reads 'atanā maramā', "though they be dying themselves", words that by themselves are far from explanatory of the subject of the relief.

A very similar scene, of which the Freer Gallery relief has been regarded as a doublet, occurs at Bharhut on the "Pasenajit Pillar" (Cunningham, 'Stūpa of Bharhut', pl. XIII, on right). Here we have a royal



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cavalcade circumambulating what is apparently (and no doubt in fact) the same building : a king, designated by the royal umbrella, is driving a four-horsed chariot, and accompanied by a 'cāmarā'-bearer and two other attendants. He is preceded by two footmen and a horseman, and followed by two riders on elephants. Within the building, two persons (both of whom are probably the aforesaid king, who is said to have entered the Buddha's residence "alone") are standing with folded hands beside the Buddha, who is represented by altar, wheel, and umbrella. The inscriptions read 'bhagavato dhammacakka', "The Wheel of the Law, or Word-wheel, of the Blessed One", and 'rājā pasenajī kosalo', "Rājā Pasenajit of Kosala". There can be no doubt that the scene represents "Pasenajit's Visit" to the Buddha who was in residence at Meḍalumpa near Nagaraka as related in A. V. 65-69 and M. II. 118 f. The Dhammacetiya Sutta (M. II. 118 f.) is so called because Pasenajit is said to have spoken "monumental words" ('dhamma-cetiyāni') in praise of the Buddha, not because the Buddha had been thought of as represented in the building itself by a 'dhamma-cakka'. The building is not, from the point of view of the narrative ('ākhyāna') a 'cetiya', but a residence, 'vihāra', or, as it is referred to by DhA., a "fragrant cell", 'gandhakuṭi'.¹ At the same time it must not be overlooked that the building with its living occupant as represented in both reliefs, if considered apart from the narrative ('ākhyāna') which it illustrates, is the picture of an actual Buddhist temple ('vihāra, gandhakuṭi') in which the departed Buddha is properly represented by the 'dhamma-cakka', in accordance with the logos, "He who sees the Dhamma, sees me" (S. III. 120).² At the same time the temple with its icon representative of the Deus absconditus corresponds exactly to the thūpa with its relic, the interior space being the 'gabbha' or womb in both cases. The lower storeys in both cases are the world in a likeness, in which world the immanent Buddha is at the same time buried and alive, while the upper storey corresponds to the superstructure of the thūpa, as does the multiplication

1. The original 'gandhakuṭi' in the Jetavanārāma is represented and labelled as such in the Bharhut relief reproduced by Cunningham, pl. LVII, where it is a simple one-storeyed hut. The term was applied thereafter to any residence of the Buddha, and finally to the Buddhist temple, similarly thought of as the Buddha's house.

2. We have not actually met with the expression 'dhammacetiya ghara' in the literature, and therefore refrain from using it above.

of upper storeys in the later temple architecture to the multiplication of umbrellas above a *thūpa*.

To return now to the Freer Gallery relief, great credit is due to Messrs Barua and Sinha ('Barhut inscriptions', p. 65) for their recognition that the fragmentary text '*atanā maramā*' belongs to DhA. I. 358 "Now the kinsmen of the Fully Awakened One do not take the lives of others, even though they be dying themselves" ('*attanā maramā'pi*'). It follows that the Freer Gallery relief is not a doublet of that of the Pasenajit pillar, but has to do with events subsequent to "Pasenajit's Visit" to which DhA has already referred (I. 356) as taking place at Uḷumpa, evidently to be identified with the Meḍalumpa of the Dhammacetiya Sutta. The context of the words of the inscription shows, in fact, that the figures in the chariot must be those of King Viḍūḍabha and his General Dīghakārayāṇa, in agreement with the text (I. 357) "Viḍūḍabha therefore went forth with a large force, saying 'I will slay the Śākya'", these words immediately preceding the sentence cited above and of which the words of the inscription form the conclusion. The figures within the '*gandhakuṭi*' may be those of Viḍūḍabha and his followers, but there is nothing in the story to suggest that a visit was paid to the Buddha within doors upon this occasion : a meeting of Viḍūḍabha with the Buddha has already taken place outside. We take it that those within the shrine are unidentified visitors.

INITIATION AND THE CRAFTS

by RENÉ GUÉNON

We have frequently said that the "profane" conception of the sciences and the arts, such as is now current in the West, is a very modern one and implies a degeneration with respect to a previous state in which both of them had an altogether different character. The same can be said about the crafts; the distinction, moreover, between arts and crafts or between "artist" and "craftsman" is also specifically modern, as if it were born of this profane deviation and had no meaning outside it. The "artifex", with the ancients is, without differentiating, a man who practises an art or a craft. He is neither an artist nor a craftsman in the sense these words have to-day, but something more than the one or the other, for his activity, in its origins at least, issues from principles of a far more profound order.

In all the traditional civilisations, in fact, every activity of man, whatever it be, is always considered as essentially derived from the principles; on account of that derivation it is as if "transformed" and, instead of being reduced to what it is simply in its exterior manifestation (this would be the profane point of view), it is integrated in the tradition and, for the one who performs it, it is a means of effectively participating in this tradition. Even from the simple exoteric point of view this is so: if one views, for example, a civilisation like that of Islam or the Christian civilisation of the Middle ages, it is easy to see the "religious" character which the most ordinary acts of existence assume in it. Religion there, is not a thing that holds a place apart and unconnected with everything else as in the case of the modern Westerners (those at least who still consent to acknowledge a religion); on the contrary, it pervades the whole existence of the human being; or, it would be better to say, all that constitutes this existence and the social life particularly, is as if included in its domain, so much so that under such conditions there cannot

really be anything "profane", but for those who for one reason or another are outside the tradition and whose case is then a mere anomaly. In other civilisations, where there is nothing to which the name religion can be properly applied, there is none the less a traditional and "sacred" legislation which, while having different characteristics, exactly fulfils the same role ; these considerations can therefore be applied without exception to all traditional civilisations. But there is something further still : if we pass from the exoteric to the esoteric (we use these words here for the sake of greater convenience, although they do not fit all the cases with equal rigour), we observe, generally, the existence of an initiation bound up with the crafts and taking them as its basis ; these crafts then are still susceptible of a superior and more profound significance ; we would like to indicate how they can effectively furnish a way of access to the domain of initiation.

Our understanding of it is made easier by the notion of what in Hindu doctrine is called "svadharma", that is the performance by every being of an activity consistent with his own nature, and it is also by this notion, or rather by its absence, that the deficiency of the profane conception is most clearly marked. In the latter, a man can adopt any profession and he can even change it according to his will, as if this profession were something purely exterior to him, without any real connection with that which he really is and by virtue of which he is himself and not another. According to the traditional conception, on the contrary, every one must normally fulfil the function for which he is destined by his very nature ; and he cannot fulfil any other without a grave disorder resulting from it which will have its repercussion over the whole social organisation to which he belongs ; more than that : if such a disorder becomes general, it will have its effects on the cosmical realm itself, all things being linked together according to strict correspondences. Without insisting any further on this last point, which however could easily be applied to the conditions of the present epoch, we may remark that the opposition of the two conceptions, in a certain connection at least, can be reduced to that of a "qualitative" and a "quantitative" point of view : in the traditional conception, the essential qualities of beings determine their activities ; in the profane conception, the individuals are considered as mere "units", interchangeable, and as if in themselves they were without any quality

of their own. This last conception is closely connected with the modern ideas of "equality" and "uniformity" (the latter is contrary to true unity, for it implies the pure and "inorganic" multiplicity of a kind of social "atomism") and can lead logically to the exercise of a purely "mechanical" activity only in which nothing properly human subsists; it is just this, in fact, that we can see to-day. It is thus well understood that the "mechanical" crafts of the modern age, being but a product of the profane deviation, cannot by any means offer the possibilities of which we intend to speak here; they even cannot in truth be considered as crafts, if one wishes to preserve the traditional meaning of the word, the only one with which we are concerned at present.

If the craft is something of the man himself and is, in a way, a manifestation or expansion of his own nature, it is easy to understand, as we have already said, that it can be used as a basis for an initiation and that generally even it is the fittest thing for this end. In fact, if initiation essentially has for its aim a surpassing of the possibilities of the human individual, it is equally true that only this individual such as he is in himself, can be taken as its point of departure; this accounts for the diversity of the ways of initiation, that is to say, of the means wrought up to act as "supports", in conformity with the difference of individual natures, a difference which subsequently intervenes less and less, as the being goes on advancing on his way. The means thus employed can be efficient only if they correspond to the very nature of the beings to whom they are applied, and as it is necessary to proceed from the more accessible to the less accessible, from the outer to the inner, it is normal to take these means from the activity by which the nature is manifested outwardly. It is evident, however, that this activity can play such a part only inasmuch as it really expresses the inner nature; here is truly a question of "qualification", in the initiatory sense of this term; in normal conditions this "qualification" should be a necessary condition for the exercise itself of the craft. This is at the same time related to the fundamental difference which separates the initiatory teaching from profane teaching: whatever is simply "learnt" from outside is here without any value; the question is to "wake up" the latent possibilities which the being has in himself (and this ultimately is the true significance of Platonic "reminiscence").

Following these last considerations, one can also understand that the

initiation, taking the craft as its "support", will have at the same time, and inversely in some way, a repercussion in the practice of this craft. The being, in fact, having fully realised the possibilities of which his professional activity is but an external expression, and having thus an effective knowledge of the principle itself of this activity, will henceforth fulfil consciously what hitherto had been but an "instinctive" consequence of his nature ; if thus the initiatory knowledge, for him, is born of the craft, the latter, in its turn, will be the field of application of this knowledge from which it can never be separated any more. There will be then a perfect correspondence of the interior and the exterior, and the work produced will be an expression, not only to some degree and more or less superficially, but a really adequate expression of the man who conceived and executed it ; it will be a master-work in the true sense of this word.

This, one sees, is very far from the so-called "inspiration", unconscious or subconscious in which modern people want to see the criterion of the real artist, who is nevertheless considered superior to the artisan or craftsman, according to—the more than contestable—distinction which they are in the habit of making. The artist or artisan, if he acts under such an "inspiration", is in any case but a profane person ; he shows, no doubt, by his "inspiration" that he carries within himself certain possibilities ; as long however as he has not effectively become conscious of them, be it even that he attains to being what is generally called a "genius", this does not make any difference ; unable as he is to control his possibilities, his success will be but accidental and this is granted as one commonly says that the "inspiration" is sometimes lacking. All one may concede so as to bring the present case nearer to the other where true knowledge intervenes, is, that the work which consciously or unconsciously flows from the nature of the person who performs it, will never give the impression of a more or less painful effort ; the effort always carries with it some imperfection, being anomalous, whereas such a work derives its perfection from its conformity with the nature ; this conformity implies directly and necessarily that it is exactly suited to the end for which it is destined.

If now we intend to define more rigorously the domain of what may be called the initiations through the crafts, we have to say that they belong to the "lesser mysteries", referring as they do to the development of

the possibilities which belong to the human state proper ; this is not the last aim of initiation, but constitutes at least its first obligatory phase. It is necessary, in fact, that this development is accomplished in its integrity in order then to allow a surpassing of the human state ; beyond this, however, it is evident that individual differences, in which these initiations through the crafts have their support, disappear completely and play no part any more. As we have explained elsewhere, the "lesser mysteries" lead to the restitution of the "primordial state", as it is called in traditional doctrines ; yet, once the being has arrived at this state, which still belongs to the domain of human individuality (and which is the point of communication between it and the superior states), the differentiations which give birth to the diverse "specialised" functions have disappeared, 'although' it is there that they all have equally their source, or rather 'on account' of this very fact ; to this common source one has to remount so as to possess in its plenitude all that is implied by the exercise of any function whatever.

If we view the history of humanity as taught by traditional doctrines, in conformity with cyclical laws, we must say that in the beginning man had the full possession of his state of existence and with it he naturally had the possibilities corresponding to all the functions prior to any distinction of these.' The division of these functions came about in a subsequent phase, representing a state already inferior to the "primordial state", in which however every human being, while having as yet only some definite possibilities, still spontaneously had the effective consciousness of them. It is only in a period of greater obscurity that this consciousness became lost ; hence initiation became necessary so as to enable man to find once more along with this consciousness, also the former state in which it inheres ; this is, in fact, the first of its aims, and the one at which it aims immediately. In order to be possible, this implies a transmission going back by an uninterrupted "chain" to the state to be restored and thus step by step to the "primordial state" itself ; still, the initiation does not stop there and the "lesser mysteries" being but the preparation for the "great mysteries", that is for the taking possession of the superior states of the being, one has to go back even beyond the origins of humanity. In fact, there is no true initiation, even in the most inferior and elementary degree, without the intervention of a "non-human" element,

which is the "spiritual influence" regularly communicated by the initiatory rite. If this is so, there is obviously no room for searching "historically" the origin of initiation,—a search which now appears bereft of sense—nor the origin of the crafts, arts and sciences, viewed according to their traditional and 'legitimate' conception, for all these, through multiple, but secondary, differentiations and adaptations, derive similarly from the "primordial state" which contains them all in principle, and from there they link up with other orders of existence, even beyond humanity itself ; this is necessary so that all and each, according to its rank and measure, can concur effectively in the realisation of the plan of the Great Architect of the Universe.

Transl.

BENGALI TERRACOTTAS

by G. S. DUTT, I. C. S.

In dealing with the subject of terracotta art in Bengal it will be convenient to approach it from two points of view ; from the point of view of figure sculpture on the one hand, and in relation to architecture on the other. In each case we shall find that the development of this art in Bengal as indeed of art in general in this province, falls into two marked periods, the first period ending with the end of the Pala and Sena age and the second period coinciding with the period of Muhammadan supremacy and extending till almost the end of the 19th century.

The surviving examples of terracottas of the former period are with the exception of the Paharpur temple practically confined to figure sculpture. Mention may be made in this connection of the terracotta figures of the 3rd to 1st B. C.¹ found in Gitagram in the district of Murshidabad. In the present article it is proposed, however, not to dilate on terracotta antiquities but to deal with what is much more important, namely the development of terracotta sculpture in relation to monumental architecture in the shape of temples and 'deuls', etc. in the sphere of which Bengal attained an unquestioned distinctiveness.

One of the earliest surviving relics of Bengali terracottas hitherto discovered is the equestrian figure-plaque found at Gitagram and assigned by R. D. Banerji to the 3rd century B. C.² We find another earnest of this kind in the fragmentary potsherd discovered at Mahasthan bearing in low relief the scene of a man riding in a chariot drawn by four horses and discharging an arrow at a centaur.³ Although not falling within

1. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika, Vol. 35, 1335 B. S., Fig. I and II facing pp. 114 and Vol. 42, 1342 B. S.

2. Fig. 1 facing pp. 114, Vol. 1335, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Patrika.

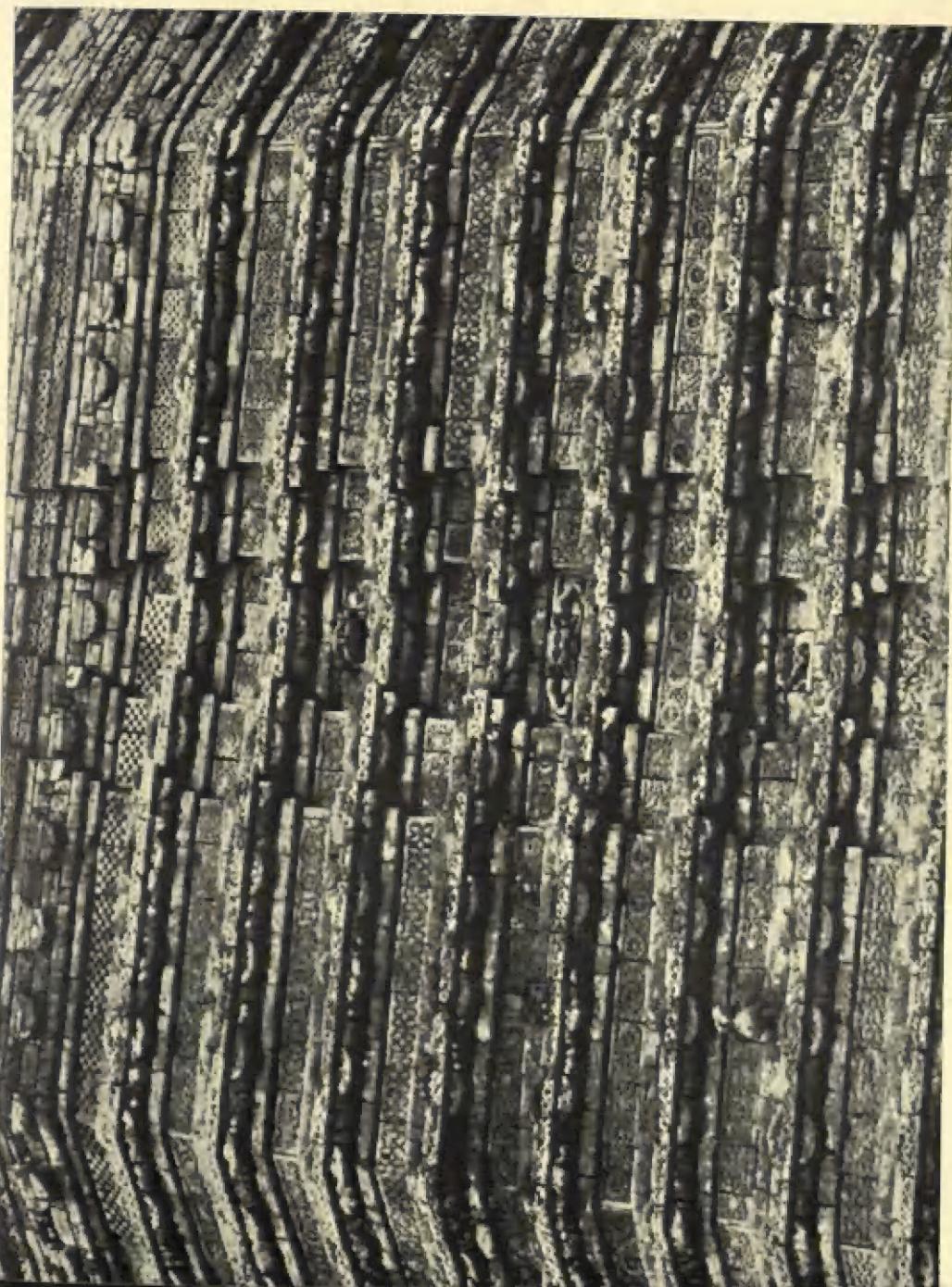
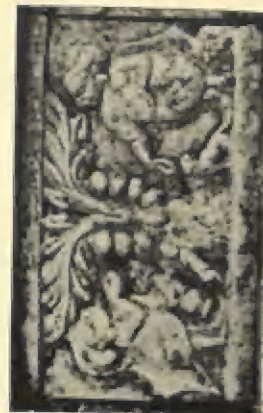
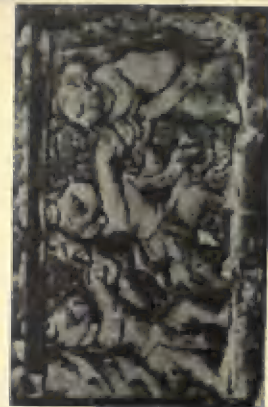
3. A. S. I. A. R. 1928-39. Pl. XLII, Fig. (b).

the sphere of architectural sculpture I have mentioned these examples to illustrate the distinctively dynamic quality of Bengali art at that period and which was to find increasing expression in later centuries. While the basic Bengali tradition in art and culture representing a definite and distinctive point of view as well as a distinctive formal idiom dates from the remotest antiquity and has affinities with basic all-India pre-Buddhistic art and culture, it did not come into its own as a full grown and self-conscious stream till after it was freed from all-India imperialistic and priestly cultural domination of the Gupta and Pala periods.

This national culture and national art of Bengal was for centuries eclipsed by an all-India imperial and priestly culture in the shape of the Gupta and the Pala traditions. The latter, while being in part Bengali in character, nevertheless derived its main inspiration from the all-India imperial priestly culture rather than from the indigenous culture of the Bengali people. Thus we find that while the beginning of the Bengali language itself dates back to the pre-Aśokan age, it received a check for centuries under the all-India imperial and priestly domination and did not recover its integrity and independence till after the end of the Pala dynasty when the national life and art of Bengal blossomed into full flowering from its own inner springs whether in literature, poetry, song, dance, architecture, wood sculpture and last but not least, in terracotta sculpture—not an imitative sculpture carried on under the leading strings of imperial priestly technique and ideology, but an indigenous sculpture in Bengal's own material of clay, burnt and unburnt, wrought by her own indigenous artists into forms evoked by free and independent impulse, expressive of the distinctive national ideology representing the Bengali outlook on life, nature and the universe.

Towards the end of the period of imperial and priestly domination referred to above, interest centres on the Paharpur temple, the most voluminous work in brick hitherto discovered not only in Bengal but in India.

In Paharpur we notice the struggle between the decadent but still powerful, imperial and priestly tradition and the rising tide of national tradition; The material (brick) is Bengali clay; but the leading motive was the creation of a memorial to imperial and priestly culture. The expressive quality of the terracotta plaques here is comparatively crude,



but the pride of the indigenous sculptors in depicting the Bengali type of men and women and other indigenous subjects is very obvious.

During the later Sena period, the Bengali renaissance is already making rapid headway and with the expiry of the Sena age, with its rampant imperial priestly Brahminic proclivities, was ushered in the full renaissance of indigenous Bengali culture in every department of life, literary, artistic and administrative.

This Bengali renaissance was the result of a spiritual blossoming in the field of religion in the shape of Vaishnavism, accentuated by the works of Jayadeva and Chandidas and the life and teaching of Chaitanya. Thus we find that national art was placed at the service of the national religion.

In the domain of art this renaissance asserted itself in the representation of the Krishna Lila and Gauranga Lila and of the mother-goddess cult in its various forms which are indigenous Bengali forms of spiritual self-expression. The national movement also adopted and depicted the Ram Lila cult of Western India as well as some of the basic mythological conceptions of Hinduism such as the Ten Avatars.

The art movement never lost its integrity and its fundamental distinctive characteristics in the course of its evolution through the centuries. It was an art of the simple people inhabiting rural Bengal where a sturdy spirit of democracy had been nurtured from the earliest possible times,—a spirit of freedom and independence in life and expression which had never been completely dominated or suppressed by external imperial and priestly influences. Whenever any outside influences came in its way, this sturdy culture assimilated as much of them as was in harmony with itself without losing its own basic character. Thus we find that the art and the artists of Bengal were alive to the comings and goings of successive races of invaders and without losing their national spirit or form gave faithful representations of the activities of imperial dynasties and foreign invaders, whether Moslems, Pathans or Moghuls, Portuguese or English that passed before their eyes.

Having now specified in general terms the nature of the culture of Bengal as represented by the various art forms in the post-Pala and post-Sena periods down to the present times, we shall now make a few observations on the special features of the terracottas.

The terracottas of Bengal may be dealt with under several classifications. First we note two main classifications, in point of conception and motif, viz. (1) dynamic vitality and plastic simplicity of form and (2) descriptive realism and representation of detail. Under each of the above classes we find works which fall under two distinct heads, viz. (1) a simple unsophisticated type with little or no ornamentation or conventionalism in technique and (2) a sophisticated type with comparatively heavy ornamentation and decorative details. The terracotta sculptures on the Mathurapur monument (Pls. XXXVI—XXXVII) in the district of Faridpur which I discovered and brought to public notice at the end of 1933, fall under the former head, under the type of plastic dynamism of form and unsophisticated technique and represent the most basic Bengali qualities in art and culture. I give below a short account of the Mathurapur monument based on my article on the subject of this monument in the *Modern Review* for March 1934 :

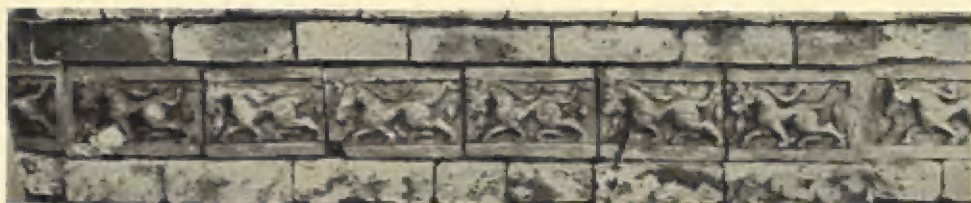
In the village of Mathurapur in the district of Faridpur, rises a massive terracotta structure towering about 70 ft. above the ground, which although now in a greatly damaged condition with trees growing on its slopes and summit, is still the most prominent landmark in this locality for miles around, and is popularly known as the Mathurapur Deul.

It was discovered by me on the 26th September 1933 when I first visited the Deul, and this was publicly announced in October 1933.

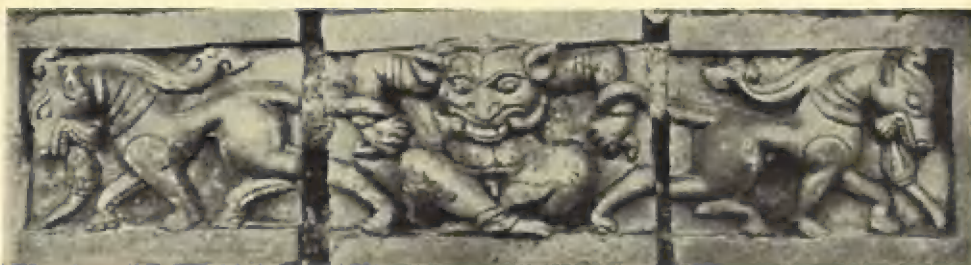
The general appearance of the structure is that of the Bengali Deul retrogressing slightly from the base upwards to a height of about 29 ft. from the ground level after which the curve is continuously accentuated up to the summit. At the height of 29 ft. from the present ground level, there is a break in the general scheme of the architecture in the shape of a massive cornice. The general scheme of structure of the building is again continued above this cornice but with this striking difference, that there is a complete absence of any sculptural or decorative work. The crown appears to have been entirely destroyed and a considerable part of the vaulted top has collapsed, leaving an open vent to the sky. There is no trace whatever left of any Amalaka or Kalasa and it is therefore impossible to say whether these originally formed part of the crown. There has been extensive damage of the summit and of large portions of the upper slopes on account of vegetation, while saline erosion has entirely destroyed the



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decorative terracotta work up to a height of about 5 ft. above ground level.

Reverting to the architectural features, each facet of the dodecagon is of the 'pancharatha' type ; that is to say, there are five vertical bands or 'pagas' running from top to bottom of each of the twelve facets of the Deul. Here again, however, there is a striking feature which characterises this Deul and which, so far as I know, is quite unique. The 'pancharatha' bands, instead of consisting as usual, of a projecting vertical ridge in the centre with gradually receding pilasters or 'pagas' on each side, here consist of a central vertical recess with two vertical bands of 'pagas' on each side, rising progressively to a higher level in vertical steps from the centre towards the sides. In other words, the usual scheme adopted in the shape of such structures, which have an elevated central 'rahapaga' and a gradually receding 'anarthapaga' and 'konakapaga' on each side, is entirely reversed in the design of each of the twelve facets of this Deul¹. The Deul, in my opinion, was apparently never used or intended to be used as a temple of worship or to be dedicated to any deity. The more one examines its sculptural features, the more one is inclined to hold the view that the Deul must have been built as a Victory Monument. This conclusion is forced upon one not only by the general warlike atmosphere that appears to have been deliberately imparted to the figure sculptures depicting the stories of the Ramayana and of the Krishna lila but by what is perhaps the most striking feature of the monument, viz.—the lion belt (Pl. XXXVII, fig. 2) which forms a girdle round nine of the twelve facets at a height of about 28 ft. from the ground as the structure now stands. This lion belt consists of a belt of terracotta plaques depicting a row of lions in the act of marching through fields of lotus buds. Each lion figure is represented in an attitude of being about to crush a lotus bud with its fangs. The conception of this lion motif and its concentrated and prominent insertion at a height of nearly 30 ft. above ground level in the shape of an almost continuous row of marching lions forming a girdle round nine out of the twelve sides of the Deul could only have been the work of a master architect-sculptor who was impelled by the object of featuring it as the dominating symbol

1. For the architectural terminology used here, see *Orissa and Her Remains*, by Ganguly, pp. III etc.

of Victory. Another feature with which the Victory atmosphere appears to have been successfully brought about, is the row of lion gargoyles and scenes of wrestling of extraordinary virility. The Deul appears to be purely a produce of rural Bengal, totally untouched by any extraneous influences even from other parts of India. Herein it differs from the other great ancient monument of Bengal, at Paharpur which, while being of much greater antiquity and larger dimensions, undoubtedly bears the impress of imperial Gupta and other influences extraneous to Bengal. Nowhere in the whole field of art and architecture has the simple dignity of rural Bengali life been delineated with such visible pride of feeling and such masterly execution. An interesting feature is the native manner in which the rural sculpture has depicted all the scenes of the Ramayana, and the scenes of Krishna lila as taking place not in distant Lanka, Brindaban or Mathura, but in the artists' own home surroundings among the cottages of Bengal, with Bengali men and women as their heroes and heroines (Pl. XXXVII, fig. 1).

The Deul was built somewhere about the earlier half of the second part of the 17th century, probably about 1665 A. D.¹

The outer walls of the temple constitute a dodecahedron with 12 recessed facets. The inner structure is also dodecagonal almost up to the summit. The approximate diameters at the ground level are as follows :— Outside diameter 34 ft. 11 in. Inner diameter 12 ft. 11 in. thus giving the thickness of the wall at the base as 11 ft. The two doors, that are open face west and south respectively, the front gate facing west. There are two dummy doors in the north and east sides. The east gate has been almost entirely destroyed owing to growth of a 'peepal' tree. Coming back to the outer dimensions, each of the twelve facets of the dodecagonal structure is 9 ft. 10 in. in length at the base. These 12 facets are built up from the base to the summit according to one general scheme which consists of tier above tier of mouldings. Projecting horizontal ridges of

1. In the Revised List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal published in 1886 by the Archaeological Survey of India however, 1472 A. D. (i. e. a period two hundred years earlier) has been mentioned as the probable date of its construction but I have been unable to find any tradition or authority to support this.



decorative work alternate with horizontal belts of flat plaques in recess in regular order (Pl. XXXVI, fig 1). There is only one break in the general scheme of architecture at a height of 29 ft. 1 in. above the present ground level as mentioned earlier in this article. The inner wall has a plain dodecagonal face up to a height of about 29 ft. corresponding to the outer cornice at this level. From this point upward to about one or two feet from the summit, the inner wall is built on a dodecagonal scheme with ridges alternating with recesses, being thus in miniature the same scheme in broad outline as that adopted for the outer facets. This ridging and recessing of the inner wall has given us a unique variation of the corbelled arch which, to my knowledge, has no parallel in Deul temples. At the very top the ceiling consists of a flattened out dome, like the inside of an inverted earthen water pot, in which the dodecagonal shape is not continued. Unfortunately, part of this ceiling has collapsed, thereby destroying its symmetry.

The massive strength of the architecture form of the Deul as well as the dignity of the sculptural quality of its serried plaques depicting the virile scenes of the Rama lila and Krishna lila stories, give the entire structure a distinctly epic character as distinguished from the generally lyric character of Bengali temples and Deuls.

The Kirttimukhas with prominent tusks, of which there are three distinct varieties, form a specially noticeable feature in the whole effect and are of a particularly virile conception and design (Pl. XXXVI, fig. 1). In one type the Kirttimukhas have been represented as holding their long tusks with their own hands. These appear to belong to a tradition which furnished the prototype of Kirttimukhas found in the Surya temple at Bhatgaon and the Swayambhunath temple in Nepal. In another variety the Kirttimukha forms part of the entire squatting figure of a tusked satyr gripping the tails of two lions (Pl. XXXVII, fig. 3) which are represented as marching in opposite directions. Projecting leogryph figures are also a prominent feature.

The plaques which have purely decorative ornamentation are also of great interest as embodying plastic designs of the pre-Muslim period as well as post-Muslim influences. Lotuses in various designs form a leading theme and the curling tendril of creepers is of frequent occurrence (Pl. XXXVI, fig. 1).

There is a vigorous 'kirtan' scene in which two males and a female are represented as taking part and playing on cymbals (Pl. XXXVI, fig. 2). A plaque with two females worshipping a 'kalpataru' (wish-fulfilling tree) is also of particular interest (Pl. XXXVI, fig. 3).

Scenes of great dynamic vigour are portrayed in a series of plaques depicting the 'carrying away of Rukmini by Krishna' (Pl. XXXVI, fig. 4) with its well-known martial episodes and another series of plaques depict with more restrained vigour the coronation of Rama and the coronation procession (XXXVII, fig. 1).

It will be observed that in the lion motif of this monument (Pl. XXXVII, figs. 2, 3) we find an instance of the complete assimilation into national form of the 'sardula' motif. The Bengali sculptor has made an original contribution even while borrowing the idea from preceding traditions.

Of special interest is the reproduction of a plaque representing Lakshman (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 2) drawing his bow which falls under the sophisticated type of semi-religious art motifs employed during this period. It has certain affinities of a very obvious and direct character with Pala sculpture. The incised linear treatment of the drapery also occurs in stone and ivory carvings in Indian and Ceylonese art. Many of the decorative motives and ornaments are in continuation of the Pala tradition.

A very interesting example of the assimilation of earlier traditions is afforded by the ornamentation in the corners of terracotta temples consisting of a succession of vertically super-imposed animal motives representing a lion (sardula) rampant super-imposed on an elephant (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 4) which also had a special Buddhistic connotation. From this idea the Bengali sculptor has created a distinctive 'sardula' form with elongated nose, curly mane in tufts, a conventional belt round the waist and a curling linear design indicating the plastic energy of the legs and haunches. The Bengali sculptor has not been content with merely borrowing the motif. The massed super-imposed animal forms of elephants, horses, lions and 'deer are distinctively Bengali creations. In many cases the animals such as the horses and the elephants have riders on them (*ibid*, fig. 4) sandwiched under super-imposed rampant animal figures. In other cases the corner pieces of

terracotta temples consist of super-imposed figures of armed soldiers (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 5) instead of animals. I may observe here in passing that we find similar motifs in the corners of Bengali brass chariots and wooden chariots.

The Bengali artist's traditional skill in sympathetic portraiture of animal life, particularly in spirited movement is exemplified in numerous plaques in temples. A series of plaques representing a herd of deer fleeing from hunters (Pl. XXXVIII) and leaping through air is a remarkable example of this type and in point of sheer excellence of plastic conception, and dynamic execution it will be difficult to find anything to compare with this scene of movement, emotion and panic, of maternal solicitude and self-forgetfulness of the suckling mother-deer even in the face of extreme danger and of the tender dependence of their young.

As already observed, the Bengali artist, while retaining his national art tradition, was quick to observe and to depict with a vivid realism scenes of social life which passed before him, particularly in the shape of martial and royal pageants, Indian as well as foreign. The idea that the village artists in Bengal are unable to depict modern subjects realistically and with effective artistic skill is falsified by the plaques reproduced here showing portraiture of hunting scenes of the times of Hindu and Moslem (Pl. XXXIX, figs. 3, 6) potentates with hunters on prancing horses, fully caparisoned elephants and hounds bounding alongside the horses or straining hard at the leash as well as by the plaques giving naive portraiture of Portuguese soldiers in various postures. There is a rare dignity about portraiture of horses and the spirit of life and movement conveyed is particularly note-worthy. Minute details of soldiers' armours and accoutrements of horses have been portrayed with rare skill and exactitude. Fig. 6 on Pl. XXXIX is a particularly fine representation of a pair of prancing horses drawing a chariot which represents the Konarak plastic tradition.

This terracotta sculpture was the work of traditional village potters who, while remaining faithful to their hereditary profession and spiritual ideals, displayed a live curiosity in the social life all round them. The terracotta sculpture of Bengal thus constitutes a valuable material for reconstructing the social and cultural history of the province.

The low-country potters on the banks of the Ganges and its lower branches have also left in the plaques of terracotta temples records of the maritime activities of the Bengali race, as can be seen in the types of full equipped sea-going boats. Nor did maritime activities of the Portuguese who sailed up the rivers escape their attention. Plaques giving realistic representation of Portuguese sailing boats are also to be found in several terracotta temples in the low-country. Of special interest is the plaque representing two sphinxes (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 1). The representation of exuberant power under control by the form qualities of the legs, tails and the fine upper curves of the tails of the sphinxes as well as by the dignity of their heads gives ample evidence of the versatile power of the indigenous sculptors of Bengal.

Muslim and Portuguese soldiers have been depicted with equal sympathy and even with a slight touch of humour in the case of the latter for these have been endowed with a 'kocha' hanging Bengali fashion from the waist of their Portuguese garmented figures! It may be confidently predicted that when a real renaissance of Bengali cultural nationalism comes round again, and educated Bengalis, instead of copying non-Bengali and non-Indian techniques, affiliate themselves to their own national tradition and draw living inspiration from it, the Bengali genius will again express itself with equal power and brilliance in the field of indigenous architecture and sculpture in an indigenous material instead of taking pride in the manufacture of what has been not inaptly termed elegant extracts or eclectic jumbles.

Now-a-days one hears much about the inability of traditional Bengali artists to depict modern scenes of ordinary life; but time has come to recognise the fact that while traditional Bengali artists can, as illustrated in this article, portray contemporary secular scenes with a faithfulness and power unsurpassed by those who are uprooted from tradition, work which is entirely divorced from living tradition and from the living 'mārga' of the national soul of India and Bengal can never attain the level of real creative expression of any permanent value. In these days it is a false sense of values which looks down upon the real Bengali 'mārga', and for archaeological, commercial and aristocratic considerations attaches



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an artificial cultural value to experimental, individual, sensual and sophisticated eclectic productions instead of giving due honour to productions which carry on the living 'mārga' of Bengali art. The hope of a real renaissance of Bengali art and culture lies in a reaffiliation with the living 'mārga' as exemplified in the national creations in the Mathurapur monument and in the national scroll paintings of the Patuas of Western Bengal.

For the present the immediate problems which present themselves in regard to this national art tradition are two-fold. In the first place we have to re-educate the so-called educated products of our schools and universities in the real value and place of this national art tradition in our national life and culture and to remove the present inferiority-complex with regard to art traditions which have originated from the soil of Bengal. Secondly, we have to take steps to preserve the survivals of the heritage of this art tradition intact 'in situ' in the different parts of rural Bengal and preserve them from the vandalism of art connoisseurs and art collectors. Since we began to point out the significance and value of the national art traditions of rural Bengal, the recrudescence of interest in the matter in certain circles has led to attempts to make collections of specimens of this living art and these attempts have unfortunately often bordered on vandalism. After my discovery of the Mathurapur monument and before I could persuade the Archaeological Department to take it over for preservation, several plaques were removed from that monument by Bengali art connoisseurs and art collectors and the same process is now going on in regard to many temples and 'deuls' all over Bengal. In fact one learned gentleman confessed to me having set out on an expedition at the head of a party at dead of night with axes and other instruments and extracted from a temple valuable plaques for the purpose of display elsewhere, the operation being performed at night for fear of interference on the part of owners and from the neighbouring public who, it was feared, might object to such acts of vandalism on religious, if not on cultural, grounds. A certain class of persons has been regularly extracting plaques from their natural settings in the villages and hawking them about for sale. Relics of monumental art traditions obviously lose much of their value when separated from their natural setting and it is to be hoped that there will, before long, be a dawning

of a true national and cultural sense which will insist on the preservation of ancient relics of traditional art 'in situ', in order that the monuments themselves may not be deprived of their full environmental significance and inspiration and the countryside may not lose its precious national and spiritual heritage which belongs, as a matter of right, to the future generations of Bengalis in the villages of Bengal where, alone, this art can live and thrive and recreate itself through the ages.

BUNDELA ART

by H. GOETZ

The architecture and fine arts of Rajputana, of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Alwar, etc. have aroused the enthusiasm of all the innumerable visitors who have visited Rajputana. Her paintings have in the last decades conquered the museums of Europe and America. Though much has been written about the ideals of these paintings, Rajput art as a whole has, strangely enough, not yet been systematically explored. This was one of the tasks which the writer of these lines had set himself during months of travelling in Rajputana in the last years, studying the life of the princely courts, witnessing splendid festivals and ceremonies, searching the jungle for old ruins and the palace libraries for old books.

In the history of Rajput art Bundelkhand has, next to Jaipur, played the most important role. To-day a multitude of small states, which with those of Malwa, form a separate agency under the British crown,—the country round Jhansi was once a great Mediaeval kingdom under the sway of the Chandela Rajputs. Deep in the jungles of Chhatarpur State there still stand the big temples of the Chandela capital Khajuraho, generally regarded as the greatest masterpieces of Mediaeval Indian art; in these temples the Mediaeval architecture has reached its richest and best balanced arrangement, and the elegance of the sculptures is of an oversensitive ripeness. But in these very temples there appear the first forebodings of the approaching national style of Rajput art; a new ideal of simple spaciousness and of simple surfaces with linear ornamentation is obvious in the balconies and entrance halls which intersect the heavy masses of the traditional Indian shrine.

The hieratic tradition of the Middle Ages had to be broken, before the Rajput spirit could develop its own ideals. This was the work of the contact with the Muhammedan states in the 15th century. In the 13th and 14th centuries the Slave Sultans, the Khiljis and Tughlaks had quickly

extended the power of the rulers of Delhi over nearly the whole of India. But they exercised only a very superficial control over the greater part of India, and the Rajput princes hardly acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Muhammedans. In the 15th century however Muslim civilisation took root in the country ; the gigantic empire disintegrated into smaller sultanates which acquired a real control over the Indian provinces. Eastern Rajputana, Malwa and Bundelkhand became the sphere of influence of the sultans of Mandu. These luxurious rulers conquered one of the Rajput states after the other. In 1454 Mahmud Shah Khilji (1436-69) brought to subjection the proud Rana Kumbha of Mewar and conquered Kotah, Bundi, Biyana, Ranthambhor, Qarauli, Ajmer and Mandsaar. Nasir-ud-Din (1500-1510) had to quell a rebellion of these territories. Rajput princesses entered the harem of the 13000 women of the Mandu sultan, and under the weak Mahmud II (1510-20) a Rajput noble, Medini Rai, became dictator of Mandu.

In those days Muhammedan civilisation entered Rajputana. The luxurious secular architecture and decoration of Mandu became a fashion amongst the Rajput princes ; first the great Rana Kumbha built a palace of the Muhammedan type in his capital Chitorgarh ; he tried to imitate the Tower of Victory of his adversary Mahmud in the famous Jayastambha overlooking the hill fort, and adopted also a semi-Muhammedan dress. Half a century later, when Medini Rai had been ousted from his dictatorship at Mandu, he retired to Chanderi, the provincial capital of Bundelkhand under the sultans of Mandu. And Chanderi, full of splendid buildings, became the model for the Rajput architecture of Bundelkhand.

The retreat of the Rajputs of the Indus and Gages plains before the pressure of the Muhammedan invasions had caused a chaos in Rajputana and Central India from which a number of new states finally emerged. Thus the Bundela Rajputs had overthrown the Chandelas in Bundelkhand, and finally founded the kingdom of Orchha during the interval of Muhammedan weakness between the decline of the sultanates of Delhi, Jaunpur and Mandu, and the rise of the Mughal Empire which was to dominate India in the following centuries. Raja Rudra Pratap (1501-31) had started to build his own capital Orchha after the model of Chanderi when he was killed by a tiger. But under his successor Bharti Chand the citadel on the island of the Betwa river, the Ramji

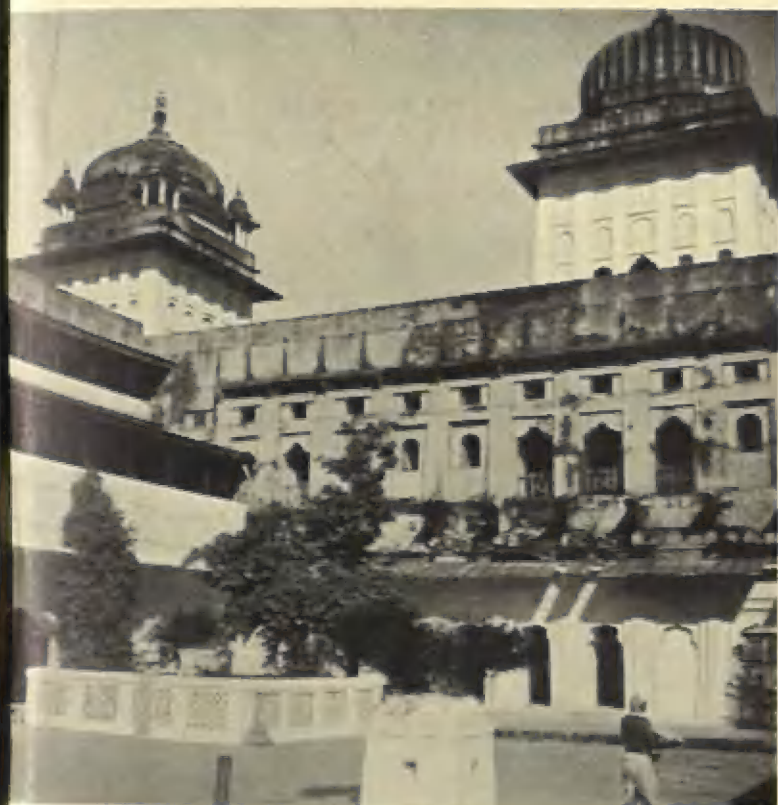
Mandir palace and the city walls were completed. Not much later the big enclosure of the Raj Mandir palace must have been constructed, and under the pious Madhukar Shah (1554-92) Orchha saw a long period of peaceful prosperity. It must have been under his reign that the famous early Rajput paintings were made, those glowing expressionist allegories of musical moods in the garb of enamoured girls and their swains. Even at the present day you can see the ruins of the house where Krishnadas Sanadhya Mishra was born, one of the most famous Hindi poets who dedicated the beautiful love poems of his "Rasikapriya" to the most famous courtesan of his days. We still have an excellently illustrated manuscript of these poems in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, in the "mixed Rajput-early Mughal" style characteristic of the reign of Bir Singh Deo (1605-27) under whom Bundelkhand and Bundela art reached the zenith of their splendour.

Bir Singh Deo, a real Renaissance figure, strong and unscrupulous, rapacious and a maecenas of the arts, had been one of the younger sons of Madhukar Shah. Not willing to acquiesce in a little fief, he rebelled against his father and then against his ruling brother Ram Shah. Finally in 1601 he made his great coup, the sensational murder of Shaikh Abul-Fazl. Abul-Fazl had been the intimate friend, minister and learned historian of the real founder of the Mughal Empire, the great Akbar. But Abul-Fazl had attracted the suspicion and hatred of the crown prince Sultan Salim who then at Allahabad was in rebellion against his father. Akbar had sent for his old adviser, and Abul-Fazl hastened from the South to the imperial court. At Narwar he was way-laid and slain by Bir Singh. For four years Bir Singh was an outlaw, chased by the imperial armies through the length and breadth of India, until the old lion died and prince Salim ascended the throne as the emperor Jahangir. Now the outlaw became the favourite of the court and rose to high offices in the Mughal service. Jahangir overlooked the annexations and depredations by which Bir Singh extended the Orchha kingdom over all Bundelkhand and amassed immense treasures. During the twenty-two years of his strong reign he erected the famous palaces, the Jahangir Mandir at Orchha and the castle of Datia, the smaller garden houses for his sons, the Hardaul Mandir and the Phul-Bagh, and the quite unique Chaturbhuj Temple (Pl. XL, fig. 5), all at Orchha, and many other less important buildings at other places,

Keshwa
केशवदा

With Bir Singh Deo's death the glory of Bundela power and art passed away. The kingdom was divided between the sons of the great ruler ; Chanderi had already been given to Ram Shah, Bir Singh's brother and predecessor, in compensation for the lost throne of Orchha, Datia now became a separate state under his son Bhagwan Rao, but the rest soon reverted to Bir Singh's eldest son Jhujhar Singh. Jhujhar had inherited the unscrupulousness and the pride, but not the statesmanship of his father. Murder and fratricide brought him into conflict with his imperial overlord, the Mughal armies invaded Orchha in 1634 and hunted the Raja into the jungles of Central India where he perished. Bundelkhand was annexed to the imperial dominions, and Orchha was visited by Shahjahan. In 1641 however the emperor installed Jhujhar's brother Pahar Singh on the throne of Orchha, but the times of greatness were gone, the leadership of the Bundela clan had passed to another line of the house of Rudra Pratap, to Champat Rai and his son Chhatarsal (1662-1732) who founded Panna State in the east of the country. Under weak rulers Orchha declined more and more. After the disintegration of the Mughal empire the Marathas 1730 invaded Bundelkhand, pillaging and murdering, and annexing whole tracts of the state. Finally Raja Vikramajit had to leave the capital of his ancestors and fled into the jungles to Tehri-Tikamgarh, the present residence. Orchha fell into ruins and slowly the jungle grew over what once had been one of the most splendid cities of India. Only now and then the Raja visits the place and resides in a small wing of the old palace in order to hunt the tiger or to offer sacrifices at the shrine of his ancestors.

The approach from the next railway station, the British garrison of Jhansi, is by a bad road leading through a jungle of shrubs and crippled trees. Finally the road descends into a low valley revealing the outlines of a gigantic castle on a river island. A city gate opens in a decayed wall, ruins of tombs, palaces, and houses appear between the underwood, a poor village nests in the broken walls, until a bridge opens the access to the royal quarters of the old capital. The island is the citadel of Orchha enclosing three palaces, and outside there are others, temples and gardens. The most important of these is the Ramji Mandir (Pl. XL, 1), the first palace of the Orchha rulers which later on had become the family temple of the dynasty. It preserves in the centre of a comparatively modern shrine of embossed





silver, a small golden idol of god Rama said to have been brought from the old seats of the Bundelas (Gaharwars) at Ayodhya. It is built on the model of the Koshak Mahal erected at Chanderi by Mahmud Shah of Mandu: A quadrangle in the late Pathan style, with many wall niches, keel and inverted pointed arches, and domes with vertical convex flutings on the corner towers. The Ramji Mandir has set the model for all the later palaces of Bundelkhand up to the last century, and probably also for the early Rajput palaces in the rest of Rajputana, the earliest parts of the castles at Bundi, Amber and Udaipur. It is a large court from which the appartments rise in receding terraces to the high enclosing wall with its eight pavilion towers. The next palace was the Raj Mandir, or Royal Palace, probably the residence of Madhukar Shah and Ram Shah, a big quadrangle on the side of the hill in the centre of the island fort. At the river side it is supported by a system of vaults which practically double the height of the whole building to about two thirds of its length, a very imposing view. On the roof the eight heavy towers have been replaced by many small open pavilions; of the original interior little survives, it seems to have been destroyed in the troubles before the accession of Bir Singh Deo, perhaps later at the fall of Orchha before the troops of Shahjahan. It was probably on the occasion of the visit of the emperor that the four pavilions in the court of the Raj Mandir were erected. They imitate the splendid architecture of Shahjahan's palaces at Agra and Delhi. It is difficult to say whether the charming paintings on the stucco walls and ceilings were painted at that time or, what is more probable, in the beginning of the 18th century, in the short interval of prosperity between the Mughal overlordship and the Maratha depredations; they represent friezes of horsemen and war elephants and floral designs with ladies and dancing girls (Pl. XL, 6).

But the glory of Orchha is the big castle erected by Bir Singh Deo and called by him Jahangir Mandir (Pl. XLI), in honour of his imperial friend and protector. Near the ruins of the Raj Mandir this gigantic quadrangle rises up to five storeys surmounted by the cupolas of the eight halls surrounding the inner court. The first two storeys consist of vaulted galleries. From the court at the level of the third storey, eight separate buildings rise as so many pyramids, four at the corners, four with their backs to the enclosing wall; the rooms of the third floor still represent a single block

surrounding the central courtyard, but those of the fourth are separated by smaller courts and the top floor consists only of terraces surrounding cupola-crowned halls and connected by the galleries of the enclosing wall ; this so complicated and yet so simple disposition is, however, obliterated by the screen walls of the fourth storey hiding the separated appartments behind an unbroken front. And in fact they are nothing but a series of those many-storeyed houses receding in terraces which we find in India since olden times, e. g. the Brazen Palace at Anuradhapura or the Satmahal-Prasada at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon or, in the 16th century, Akbar's Panch Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri.

Besides, a mass of graceful balconies, galleries and small cupola-pavilions contribute to the extremely picturesque effect of the whole. From the outside you see only a huge wall, first broken by small loop-holes, then by small windows, finally by several galleries and the balconies and cupolas of the top-storey (Pl. XL, 3). The top galleries are closed by a screen-work permitting the invisible ladies to look on the city and the surrounding country with its river and tanks,—to the far-off hills, the royal tombs and the spire of the Lakshmi-Narayan Temple. ✓

The style is a mixture of Hindu and Muhammedan features ; the heavy, plain Moslim arches of the lower storeys contrast with the graceful ornamental Hindu pillars and cornices of the upper storeys, the towering Pathan cupolas and stone screens, with the elegant Rajput pavilions (Chhatris) and shadow roofs, the endless geometrical wall decorations introduced from Mameluk Egypt with the Indian sculptures of peacock, lion, elephant and horse brackets and the very interesting early Rajput frescoes. Especially the West hall contains vestiges of two ceiling pictures in the "Hindu" variant of the Akbar style, one representing Krishna with Gopis and cows, the other a king with courtiers and servant girls. There is an extraordinary harmony and strength, a rare perfection of taste in this mixture of seemingly incongruous styles.

The other big castle of Bir Singh Deo at Datia, built probably somewhat later, is perhaps even more beautiful than that at Orchha. Though it is mainly of the same type, its position on the crest of a ridge overlooking two lakes and dominating the whole town, is much more imposing. Its conception is better balanced and more imposing because of the cupola-crowned tower in the middle of the central court which overtops the

whole block and communicates with it by open galleries. Finally, the decoration is not only richer, but more saturated with Mughal elements, especially in the imitations of coloured tile-mosaics comparable to those of contemporary Mughal buildings, e. g. of Lahore Fort, in a sgraffito-technique applied to gaily painted and highly polished plaster walls. The monumental entrance (Pl. XLII, 4) of a purely Persian design, but crowned by a number of Hindu balconies, is decked with very charming floral ornaments, Chinese dragons and niches with the relievo figures of elephants or with paintings of cavaliers and a Gaṇeśa. In the winding staircase there is a red hall with a lotus dome ; around this dome winds a frieze of dancers in coloured stucco-relief : The Rasa Lila. Still higher up you reach the big court where the private audience rooms—the public audience halls were outside those palaces—rise in the succeeding storeys of the central tower, until you enter the topmost hall with its cupola paintings of peacocks and sword dancers (Pl. XLII, 7).

The palaces for the sons of Bir Singh Deo, however, the Hardaul Mandir (Prince Hardaul's Palace) and the Phul-Bagh (Flower Garden), represent attempts to copy the refined garden architecture brought from Persia by the Mughal emperors, but the arrangement is clumsy and without proportions ; they are first experiments in a foreign style not yet really understood and assimilated.

On a hill at the side of the Ramji Mandir, opposite the Raj Mandir there stands the other wonder of Bir Singh's building activity in Orchha, the religious counterpart to his big palaces : the Chaturbhuj Temple. The Chandela temples of Khajuraho had already broken the darkness of the Mediaeval Hindu shrine by a series of open halls and balconies. The Chaturbhuj Temple (Pl. XL, 5) follows the same arrangement, but the "Ardha-Mandapa" has been replaced by an open court and the "Mandapa" by a big transept hall, whereas the "Maha-Mandapa" is another longitudinal nave crowned by a high spire only somewhat lower than that of the shrine proper, just as at Khajuraho. The actual innovation is the enormous transept hall, like Bir Singh's palaces erected in the late Pathan style, with a central cupola surmounted by a little lantern and two vaulted wings ending in four towers which are, however, crowned by Hindu temple spires instead of the Pathan domes. The Muhammedan inspirations of this hall must be sought at Mandu, Jaunpur and Gulbarga, that for the spires on the

putting several Hindu palaces with receding storeys into the enclosure of a Pathan-Persian palace is as original as the new temple type created by the combination of a mosque or Darbar hall with the Chandela Hindu shrine. These structures were covered with a wealth of decorative devices of which only a part was of Muhammedan origin whereas the rest came from the tradition of the Hindu Middle Ages. No doubt, the practice of employing in secular architecture ornaments and structural parts once used for Hindu temples, had been started by the Muhammedan rulers. But under a Hindu prince, such as Bir Singh Deo, it was inevitable that those Hindu features should acquire a prominence not to be found in Muhammedan buildings. As the Rajputs had, however, themselves only been converts to Hinduism, the spirit of this new original architecture could not be the same as in the old Hindu tradition of the Middle Ages. Just those elements came into prominence which in the temples of Khajuraho, Chitorgarh, etc. represented a new start from the old conventions, elements representing a taste delighting in simple forms, pronounced lines and surfaces strongly contrasting with the sculptural modelling of purely Hindu art, a taste which has its counterpart in the Iranian countries.

It is difficult to define the relation of this early Rajput art to contemporary Mughal art. Already before the time of Bir Singh Deo, a Hindu imitation of the Pathan style had been attempted in Raja Man Singh's quite unique palace at Gwalior (1486-1516). And Man Singh's palace seems in a certain degree to have inspired the architects of the emperor Akbar, in the same way as the painters and musicians grown up in the tradition of Man Singh influenced the other arts at the Mughal court. But this influence must have been much less than I had hitherto been inclined to believe. Bir Singh Deo's art cannot have exercised any influence on Mughal art as its zenith coincides with the decline of the similar art movement at the Mughal court. Nor can the influence of Mughal art on that of Orchha have been of much importance. For the Muhammedan contribution to Bundela art, like that in certain early buildings at Bundi and at Sanganer near Jaipur and at Bhargarh in Alwar State, comes from the late Pathan art of Malwa (thus foreboding certain features of the Shahjahan style, e. g. the cusped arch), whereas the Mughal architecture of Akbar represents a mixture of Suri-Pathan, late Timurid and isolated Hindu features (of the Rajput type) as freely and tentatively introduced

as in Bundela art. They must, therefore, be regarded as parallel, but comparatively independent aspects of the same birth of a new Indian art in the period from the middle of the 15th to the beginning of the 17th century.

With the death of Bir Singh Deo the scene of Rajput artistic activity shifted to Amber-Jaipur and Bundi, later on to Bikaner and Jodhpur, finally to Kotah and Udaipur. The later Bundela Rajas were either loyal officers in the imperial service, with the Mughal armies far away at the frontiers, or rebels plundering the country and themselves hunted by Mughal troops. They had neither the leisure nor the means for the encouragement of the arts. At Datia the palace and the tomb (Pl. XLII, 8) of Raja Subhkaran (1656-83)—of a more pronounced Muhammedan (Pathan) character—are the last survivals of the tradition of Bir Singh Deo. At Panna, and especially at Mau (near Nowgong) we see the vestiges of the reign of Raja Chhatarsal, the splendid interlude between the Mughal and the Maratha supremacies (1662-1732). Especially his mausoleum at Mau, a polygonal temple tower with a Pathan cupola, in an octagonal fortification, is an impressive building; but the material is cheap (bricks) and the decoration is that of contemporary Mughal art (Pl. XLII, 9). It was only in the second half of the 18th century that a last revival set in. Never had the Bundela Rajas been so impotent and helpless as in those years of suppression and extortion by the Marathas. But the lowest ebb of Bundela prosperity had not yet been reached, so that the Raja Indrajit (1736-62) and Shatruijit (1762-1801) of Datia, and Saont Singh (1752-65) of Orchha could spend their leisure in the cultivation of the arts, like the last Mughal emperors, or their contemporaries at Jaipur and Jodhpur. At Datia, Indrajit added the north wing to Raja Subhkaran's palace on the Rajgarh hill, in the contemporary Mughal-Rajput style. He was a great *maecenas* of pictorial art, like his successor Shatruijit. Raja Parichhat is probably responsible for the Raj Nivas Palace to the west of the town, executed in the last variant of the Rajput style where round forms dominate, where new architectural types have been created by the reduplication and blending of earlier ones, where the old decorations are repeated and combined into new ornaments. This same Rajput "Rococo" is to be found also in the Royal Chhatris along the Karan Sagar; that of Indrajit is still comparatively simple, but the mausoleum of Parichhat

(1801-39) seems to be the model of Ranjit Singh's tomb at Lahore : It is a cupola hall with a round Bangaldar roof, surrounded by an open gallery ; the exterior is decked with all the wealth of the just mentioned architectural forms decayed into ornaments, the interior with paintings in a rather debased taste. The tombs of his successors Bijai Bahadur (1839-57) and Bhawani Singh (1857-1907) simply copy the model set by Raja Parichhat. And in fact, the paintings executed under these three rulers show a continuous decline, until under the last one Western influences appear. The Eastern wing of Rajgarh Palace which was added by Bijai Bahadur, has the European architecture elsewhere to be found at Lucknow, Rampur, Bhopal, etc. Bundela architecture at Datia had died.

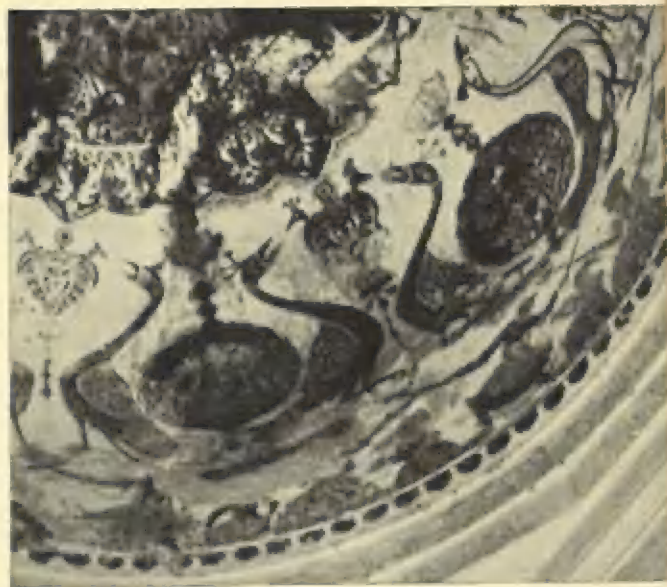
In Eastern Bundelkhand, Panna may be regarded as the first stage of late Bundela architecture. Sawant Singh (1752-65) was probably the builder of the fine Lakshmi-Narayan Temple to the west of Orchha. It is a hexagonal tower of several storeys separated by shadow roofs and adorned with miniature balconies with 'bangaldar' roofs. A great cupola with a golden pinnacle rises from a circle of blind niches with round 'bangaldar' roofs separated by miniature towers, in the same way as a Byzantine dome ; this arrangement is to be found also in many Maratha temples, and comes from the Deccan. The temple stands in a triangular court surrounded by galleries and crowned by some pavilions where a 'bangaldar' roof and two flanking roof 'chhatris' have been blended into one pavilion with a roof curved like a Turkish bow. The interior is decorated with paintings copied from the Mughal ceiling pictures of the Raj Mandir pavilions ; but the military scenes have been replaced by the Rasalila dance. The last phase is represented by the castles and temples of Mau, Chhatarpur and Rajgarh in Chhatarpur State, an independent former feudatory of Panna. Rajgarh was built by Raja Hindupat towards the end of the 18th century, Mau and Chhatarpur seem to be somewhat later. Curiously enough, the arrangement of Bir Singh's castles still survives in the palaces of Rajgarh and Chhatarpur, yet translated into the late Rajput style, with survivals of the early Bundela style, but also with reminiscences of the architecture of Lucknow and Rampur, and whole palisades of pinnacles along the crest of the 'bangaldar' roofs.

The ceiling paintings in Bir Singh Deo's palace at Orchha have already been mentioned. The paintings in Datia palace are more variegated. The

peacocks (7) and the central decoration in the cupola of the central tower arouse reminiscences of early Muhammedan art and may be a survival of Rathana pictorial tradition. The frieze of sword dancers, the figural paintings in the entrance wall niches, and the fine Rasalila frieze in the staircase, in painted stucco relieve, are representatives of the early Rajput style contemporary with Akbar, whereas the dragons in the spandrels of the entrance-arch (4) are those of the pure early Mughal style. The coloured sgraffito pictures on the facades and in the north hall correspond to the tile mosaics of Lahore Fort. Some much damaged pictures in wall niches in the balconies of the south facade, finally, are under the influence of the Mughal pictorial taste at Jahangir's court. In the wall and ceiling paintings of the Mughal pavilions in the Raj Mandir at Orchha (6) an almost pure Mughal taste dominates, perhaps with a slight inclination to that linearity and flatness so characteristic of Rajput products. The ceiling is a continuous floral pattern with dancing girls between runners, along the ceiling there is a frieze of soldiers on horses and elephants, the walls are decked with flower arabesques and girls tending flower pots. The style of those paintings is probably later than Shahjahan, either of the late 17th or of the early 18th century when the Aurangzeb taste came into fashion amongst the Rajputs, i. e. ca. 1720. Not much later the earliest miniatures preserved in the Rajnivas collection must have been painted at the Datia court. Most of them represent Raja Indrajit (1736-62) or his uncle, Raja Pirthi Singh of Seondha (a fief of Datia) worshipping Krishna and Radha, on a little dais, in a house shrine, on an elephant formed by dancing girls, etc., or in sweet family life, with the ladies, children and musicians. Like the art of Madho Singh at Jaipur, or that of Bakhat Singh at Jodhpur, these paintings are under the strong impress of Lucknow in the time of Shuja-ud-daula, but with many characteristics of what is generally called the "mixed Mughal-Rajput" taste. Under Shatrujit the Bundela-Rajput note becomes more obvious, flatness, pronounced lines, absence of shading, simple composition; though these portraits of Shatrujit's time of which some have already been published by N. C. Mehta (*Studies in Indian Painting*, 1926, pls. 14, 15), may represent the late Bundela style at its purest, they are not characteristic of the style of the Datia school as a whole. For under Parichhat the tradition of Indrajit is again taken up, but in large size paintings (which found favour at that time everywhere under European



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influence); they reach neither the vitality nor the delicacy nor the discreet colouring of the productions of Indrajit's time. Under Bijai Bahadur the decline went on to end in complete disintegration under Bhavani Singh. Whether the poor Ragmala sets ascribed to Datia by Mr. Mehta, really represent genuine Bundela art, seems to me very doubtful, in all probability they are export good from Jaipur which in the 19th century flooded Rajputana with pictures of inferior quality.

At Orchha, Sawant Singh must have encouraged painting. There is a portrait of him in the Datia palace collection. The marble relievo with his portrait and that of the Rani who became 'suttee' at his death, in his 'chhatti' at Orchha goes evidently back to a miniature painting. The ceiling decorations of the Lakshmi-Narayan Temple were, however, simply copied from the Raj mandir pavilions and rather emphasize the clumsiness of the Rasalila frieze. Miniatures seem not to have been preserved, at least this was the information given by the Tikamgarh Darbar. A room with wall paintings is, however, preserved in the ladies' apartments at Rajgarh, Chattarpur State, and there may be a similar room in the Chhatarpur palace. Unfortunately these paintings are in a very bad condition, friezes of small scenes from court life, Ragmalas, Nayikas, etc. Their conception has a certain resemblance to the Datia work of Indrajit, but the drawing is stiffer and more decorative, and its quality cannot compare with that of the Datia school. Few as these examples are, they suffice to prove that also in the east of Bundelkhand no real Rajput pictorial style was known, but only that type hitherto called "Mughal-Rajput".

The Rajput states were too much entangled in the chaotic history of the late Pathan, Mughal and Maratha period ever to have been able to create an independent "Hindu" art opposed to Muhammedan tradition. Again and again Rajputana, Malwa, Bundelkhand (also the Himalayan states) came under the overwhelming cultural influence first of the Mandu court, then of the Mughal emperors, and it was this contact which brought forth a Rajput style of its own. But this Rajput note is an aesthetic tendency, not a fixed canon of forms. Those forms came mainly from the Muhammedans, but were not only intermixed with decorative patterns and parts taken from the Hindu tradition of religious architecture, sculpture and painting, the mixture, too, was very different from that which built up the Mughal tradition. The Pathan element

survived until a late period. And on the other hand there was a tendency to a rich reduplication and combination of architectural forms not so obvious in Muhammedan art ; and that inclination to flatness, linearity and to a bright romanticism much more characteristic of Iranian than of Hindu art. But everywhere, at every time the composition of these features was different, according to the local and historical situation, thus creating many local styles. Amongst these Bundelkhand had the lead, it saw the first splendid zenith of post-Mediaeval Rajput art after the preliminary experiments at Chitorgarh, Gwalior, etc. Although after the death of the great Bir Singh Deo the centre of Rajput art production shifted to Jaipur, and later on to other places, Rajput art did not disappear in the Bundela country and it has brought forth characteristic and interesting works almost up to our own days.

DAKṢIṆA CITRA

by V. RAGHAVAN

In JISOA, 1937, pp. 218-37, Dr. Kramrisch makes a study of South Indian painting under the caption 'Dakṣiṇa citra'. The phrase 'Dakṣiṇa citra' is taken from a passage in the Māmaṇḍūr inscription of Mahendravarman I. It is said that the phrase means 'the art of the South', that 'there must have been an awareness then of a distinctive aspect of art in South India', 'that Mahendravarman I had compiled 'dakṣiṇa-citra' which was a commentary only on a standard work on the subject and it followed strictly the methods and rules laid down for such a work' and that 'it is not an independent treatise.....'

T. N. Ramachandran studied the contributions to the several arts made by the royal artist Mahendravarman in his article on the subject in the JOR, Madras, Vol. vii, pp. 234 ff, and in the section on Painting in that article, he interpreted the mutilated Māmaṇḍūr inscription. Passage marked 11 contains the words ".....kalpāt pravibhajya...vṛttim dakṣiṇa-citrākhyam.....yitvā yathāvidhi" and out of these words, Mr. Ramachandran created two texts on painting, one, a basic and old text (Kalpa), and two, a gloss (Vṛtti) called the Dakṣiṇa citra on the Kalpa sponsored by Mahendravarman I, a gloss which elucidated south Indian art or painting. Passage marked 9, as Mr. Ramachandran himself remarks, deals with music; and the passage marked 12, as also that marked 13, deals with music. It is natural to expect and conclude that the intermediate passage (no. 11) is musical in reference. There is hardly any context here for painting, really as little as for Mahendravarman's invention of a fourth colour in passage 12.

The real meaning of the three words Vṛtti, Dakṣiṇa and Citra does not lie in painting; it lies in music. Bharata speaks with reference to both instrumental and vocal music of three Vṛttis or Mārgas named Citra, Dakṣiṇa and Vṛtti or Vārttika: Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra, XXIX. 73.

Kāvyaṃālā edn, p. 323 ; *ibid.* XXXI. 72, p. 335 ; see also *ibid.* p. 339, verses 113-120. In verse 118, Vṛtti is also called Vārttika.¹ See also Maṭaṅga's Bṛhaddeśī, JSS. edn, pp. 49-53.

It is to these three music terms that the three words in passage 11 of the Māmaṇḍūr inscription, Vṛtti, Dakṣiṇa and Citra refer. The expression Vādyā also in line 12 helps to understand the musical reference of line 11.

1. While Abhinavagupta is elucidating in his commentary on the Nāṭya Śāstra this Vārttika mārga, one scholar mistakes in the word a reference to Śrīharṣa's treatise, the Vārttika on Bharata.

NOTES

by ST. KRAMRISCH

'Madhupāna' scenes from Mathurā, etc.

V. S. Agrawala in an article in this issue of JISOA, p. 68 f., has dealt with "a new Bacchanalian" group from Maholi, which must have stood inside the temple of the Khaṇḍa Vihāra monastery. On the obverse (Pl. XXII) this bilateral relief shows a scene of which the central figure, a woman, upheld by others, is swooning away with drooping head and relaxed arms, into the bliss of inebriation. Her body is heavy, rests on the left knee, supported by a child still with the cup in hand, and by a man. She has sunk down in front of the pillar on which rests the large bowl on top; it is covered with foliage; large leaves and flowers of the Āśoka tree reach out from there, frame the entire group and accompany with their drooping lines the theme set by the arms of the female figure. The pillar supports and acts as the stem of the bowl which is the centre of the vegetation, in the carving. It is the symbolic and compositional analogy to the vertical in which is upheld the woman's body and her drooping arms.

The bowl, itself carved with a band of rambling vine or Āśoka leave and flower scrolls,¹ or more explicitly wreathed with, or itself overgrown by foliage and supported by a bilateral relief, holds not only the highest and central place in the relief representations but it is the centre of the vegetation, and also of life which the figures so abundantly exhibit. The cup held by one or the other figure is but an exemplification of the 'water of life' which the large bowl held.

A simultaneous mythology is exhibited by the Maholi stand (Pl. XXII), showing the plants after they had arisen from the primeval waters

1. Agrawala, 'The vine motif in Mathurā art', JISOA, 1936, Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2-3.

which are their place of origin ; the water circulates in their turgid shapes ; from the plants arose all other beings, gods and men, who in the relief taste the sap and give themselves up to its effects. Rasa, the elemental sap, water in the bowl, 'amṛta' in the flask of a god, 'madhu' in the cup of Yakṣa or man is the subject illustrated on the carved bowls with their figured pedestal.

They were placed within the temple or near the entrances to Buddhist shrines¹ and served, as 'ācamana-kumbhī', the purpose of holding the water for washing the hands and feet of the visiting worshippers, similar in function to the 'piscina' in the Christian church where the worshipper washes his hands from sin. The water of ablution then is drunk². Whereas the 'piscina' acts in the rite of ablution, and its contents by the washing of the hands turn into another 'rasa,' to be drunk, the Buddhist 'ācamana-kumbhī' and its stand serve and illustrate (Pl. XXII) the miracle of water and wine in its natural course and halting places, i. e. in the shapes in which it is effected ; a cosmic ritual accomplished, present, and illustrated, in which the devotee takes part when the water touches his hand.³

Any of the halting places or stations of this whole symbolism may, in different sculptures, stand for the whole and the 'foremost' in the sense of the relief itself and in that of explicitness, is the motif of the drooping female figure supported by a male figure.⁴ This motif along with the bowl itself also occurs on a relief from Mathurā in the Indian Museum, Calcutta⁵ ; though badly weathered, it can be seen that it also dates from the late Kuṣāṇa age. Another group of this type is on a small relief from Saṅkīsa, also in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (5173 ; cat. Sa 2, p. 118), and there is no bowl in that instance.

In the Patna Museum is a fragment of a post (812) with part of one

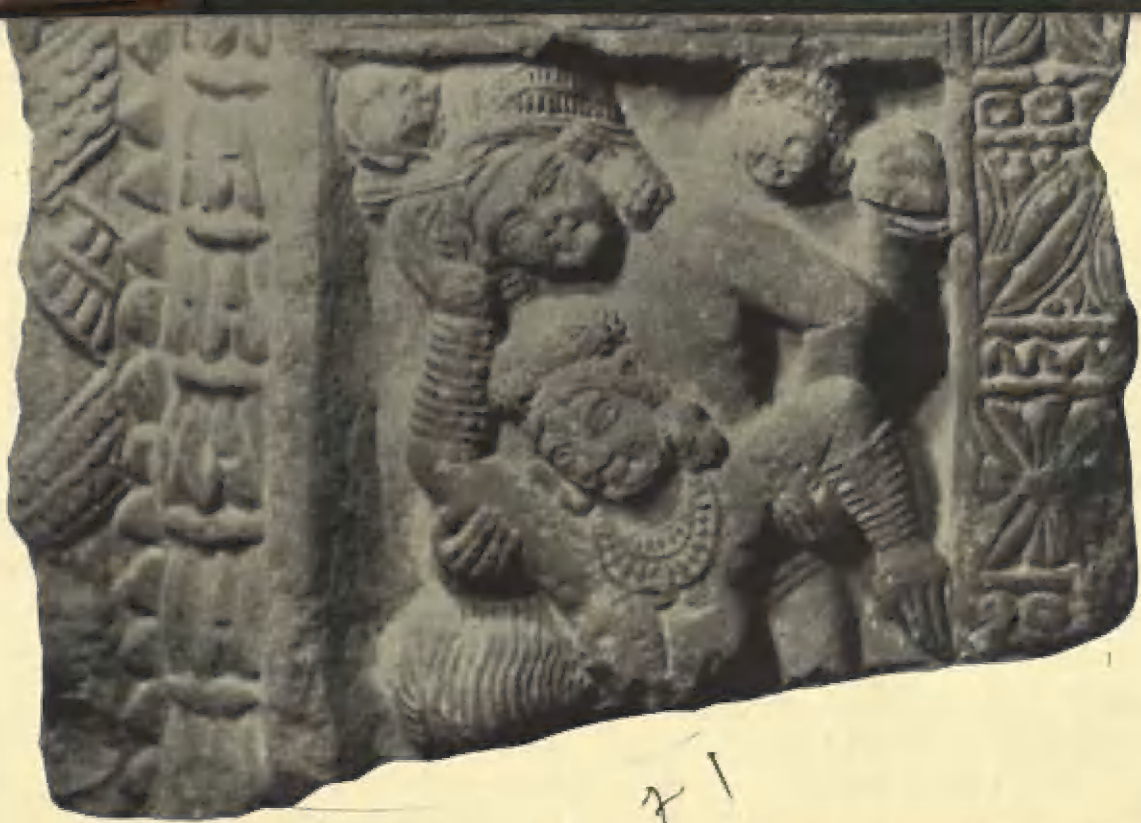
1. Coomaraswamy, Yakṣas, Part II, Pl. 18, p. 64. ff.

2. Crosnier, Bulletin monumental, 1849, p. 55.

3. Cf. also the christening font,—which must be placed inside the church because the church is the mother from where a new generation is born—Sicard. 6, 14. (Migne, CCXIII, 230, D).

4. The head of the male figure but for the satiety of its lower half is similar to Gupta types of the Buddha image, not however to the contemporary Bodhisattva image from Maholi (Pl. XX); noteworthy are also the short and irregular locks (Pls. XXI, XXII), the very thin fillet with front and lateral ornaments.

5. A. S. I. A. R. 1922-23, Pl. XXXVIII b.



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panel preserved (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 1): a woman, her arms upheld by a man behind her, a small figure on top on the left with some object in its hand. Although the female figure is broken off below the bust, her state is shown in the dislocation of her movements, drooping head, one arm raised and touching the large turban of the man, as if it were a reflex movement without intention, just as her other arm though upheld hangs down in numb heaviness. The scene above the railing pattern is almost completely defaced.

The fragment of this 'madhupāna' panel is a more ancient document than the better preserved late Kuṣāṇa relief. Graded in surfaces, sparing of modelling, yet of ample shapes, it is more restrained in its means and with this plus of discipline it conveys more than the fuller versions. Placed along diagonals and shuffled in planes, the coherence of the figures need not be stressed by the compassion in the face of the man or any gesticulation as those of the attendant¹ in Pl. XXII.

Instead, turban, ornaments and wrinkled cloth contribute an alleviation to the form-physiognomy in which the faces have their place, with wide open eyes, free of any reflection, entirely without gesture and—a rare instance amongst stone-sculptures from Mathurā—, alike to terra-cotta heads, of well-known type,² and of much discussed date; some of their latest versions retain in their wide eyes the openness to the void. This post appears to belong to the early first century A. D. The relief on the pillar of Bodh-Gayā, with the boyish Yakṣa below, supporting the Yakṣī who climbs the tree, is not very distant in date, belongs to the same class of representation (tree, 'yakṣa', etc.) and forms it with a similar detachment, with shuffled planes and free from emotional contacts (which are a residue of Hellenism, in the Maholi relief).

Among recently found terra-cottas, in the Municipal Museum, Allahabad,³ are two plaques; they are both broken on top, and the one reproduced on Pl. XLIII, Fig. 2 is moreover broken in the middle; it is however a

1. The 'attendant' is an ancestress of the many similar figures in Indian miniature paintings preserved from the time of Akbar.

2. Coomaraswamy, IPEK, Pl. III; Codrington, 'Indian Antiquary' 1931, Pl. facing p. 141., Gordon, 'Man' 1935, p. 18, etc.

3. According to Pandit B. M. Vyas the plaques were found at Kauśāmbī (Kosam).

clearer impression and less worn than the other. There is again the inebriated and drooping female figure and the man who supports her; the motif of the female figure is that of the Maholi group, though less expansive, her body is turned sideways, her arms like broken wings, the 'Gupta' elegance of the man's leonine body and his rapid leaping forward seem to carry away the female figure which in the Mathurā stone carving (Pl. XLIII, Fig. 1) was ensconced by the movement of its supporter.

A floral device rises with spreading delicacy, on a curved stalk behind the man's left arm and brushes the waves of his wig-like hair whether in continuation or parallel to the shape above the woman's head none of the two plaques permit to decide. The vegetation symbol, though not a tree, is there; whether a bowl was shaped on top of the rectangular plaque can not be said. The unusually long plain piece at the bottom of the plaque may have been meant for insertion into some pedestal and in that case the plaque may have been a stand, strengthened by the unusually thick lateral rims.

A Śiva head from Mathurā

By its third eye set vertically into the middle of the forehead and the strands of hair dressed as long locks around a flat chignon, the head (Pl. XLIV¹) is identified as one of an image of Śiva. It is carved in red mottled sandstone and is a work of the school of Mathurā in the early Gupta period. Another head of Śiva (2085) in the Mathurā museum, also with the third eye similarly, if more explicitly marked, shows the hair brushed back, smoothly fitting a high head with parallel incised lines, not unlike the manner of indicating hair on a head from Mohenjo-daro; another head in the museum at Mathurā (1586), has the hair similarly marked though differently dressed. The latter head, which is not of a Śiva image, has a moustache and this is also indicated on the Śiva head.

Stylistically too, the head has all the traits which mark it as a work of the school of Mathurā, of the early Gupta phase. The wide expanse of the forehead which curves backwards into temples and cheeks with a spaciousness not shared by other schools; the modelling of the cheeks, more detailed, and accentuated, just below the eyes and within the steady

1. The head is in the Calmann Galleries, London.



contour of the face which their animation does not touch ; and the mouth of a corresponding type rich in curves and modelling ; the sharpness of demarcations and surfaces carved slantingly and joined, fixed at their meeting by raised rims, all these marks of school and age this head and heads of Śiva, Buddha or Tīrthaṅkara from Mathurā, have in common.

Such quality as it has is neither implicated in the thing it represents, nor in the conditions under which it has been carved. Neither its iconography nor its style exhaust its presence.

Iconography and interpretation of meaning on the one hand, history of style and psychology on the other are disjointed modes of approaching Indian art, two halves which do not make a whole. A fragment, like the one illustrated in Pl. XLIV, (the nose is broken, the lower part of the face battered) demands a method of approach in which all its contingent features, school and age of the work, its subject and the meaning of the latter, are taken stock of and assigned their place, the one in relation to the other and all in view of the indivisible being which as a whole dwells in the entire visibility of this head. In a work of art like this, there is no symbolism behind or beyond what can be seen, and every stylistic trait in the connection in which it appears is an infallible utterance, seen in its becoming, in the compulsion that brings it about, precipitated from a realisation and secure in the knowledge of transforming it.

Symbols are documents *post festum*. The relation of the symbol to the thing it symbolizes is not that of identity. Symbols also are polyvalent, can occur in one context or the other, can be repeated and replaced. Not so form in the sense in which the head (Pl. XLIV) is altogether form. It is not polyvalent but one, has its context within its visibility and cannot be repeated. Its form is seen in its relation, in its activity, in its becoming. By its becoming and that this should be visible, it is form just as life, a ceaseless becoming, is a reverberation of being.

The surface, smooth or colourful, carved or modelled as far as it appeals to aesthetic sensibility only, is grasped in its existence ; while the "work" of art in it is seen, which means understood, in its becoming. The co-ordination of the contingencies of subject-matter, meaning, time and place, in the process of becoming visible form, results not in 'a finished product', but in a "work" of art, in an activity altogether of vision and to be understood by insight. The knowledge of styles and that of symbols

and their implications are prerequisites for an understanding and interpretation to-day to the same extent as the technique of stone carving was a prerequisite in the case of the master who accomplished the Śiva head (Pl. XLIV) in Mathurā in the early Gupta age.

Paintings at Bādāmi

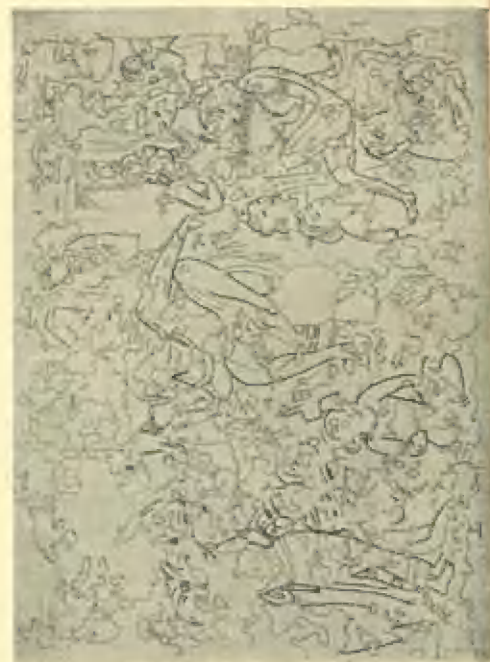
Of the paintings at Bādāmi noticed by the writer in autumn 1935 (JISOA Vol. IV, p. 57) but little could be seen and some fragments only were then visible. They have since been cleaned by the Archaeological Survey of India,¹ and are now seen to have filled the vaulted surface of the cornice with large panels of which three can still be distinguished, though not satisfactorily photographed. With the help of approximate 'tracings' made on the spot by S. Katchadourian, and reproduced here along with the photo of the one panel nearest the centre of the cornice (Pl. XLV), it is possible to reconstruct at least the composition of these panels, if not, as yet, the subject of the scenes. The panel which could be photographed comprises the group and figures illustrated on Pls. VII-IX, JISOA Vol. IV.²

The first panel from the centre, holds on the right a group of figures in attendance on a seated personage, of whose figure but little is preserved and who appears to be the main figure. The left half of the panel is filled by two dancers (one only could be discerned originally) and by a group of musicians on the extreme left. The one dancer seen from the back suggests the momentariness of the movement although the expert knowledge of the movement is not translated adequately in the foreshortened outline of the back. The types of headgear worn by the two dancers are also worn by other figures ; the flat top of the cylindrical type of cap abruptly terminates the figures.

The following panel once more holds two groups, balanced in the opposite sense, with the main group on the left. Its chief and crowned figure occupies the centre in a posture of ease and turned to the right ; a circle of attendant figures on the left. The lesser group on the right is

1. The photograph reproduced on Pl. XLV combines photos Nos. 9688 and 9690 of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1936-37.

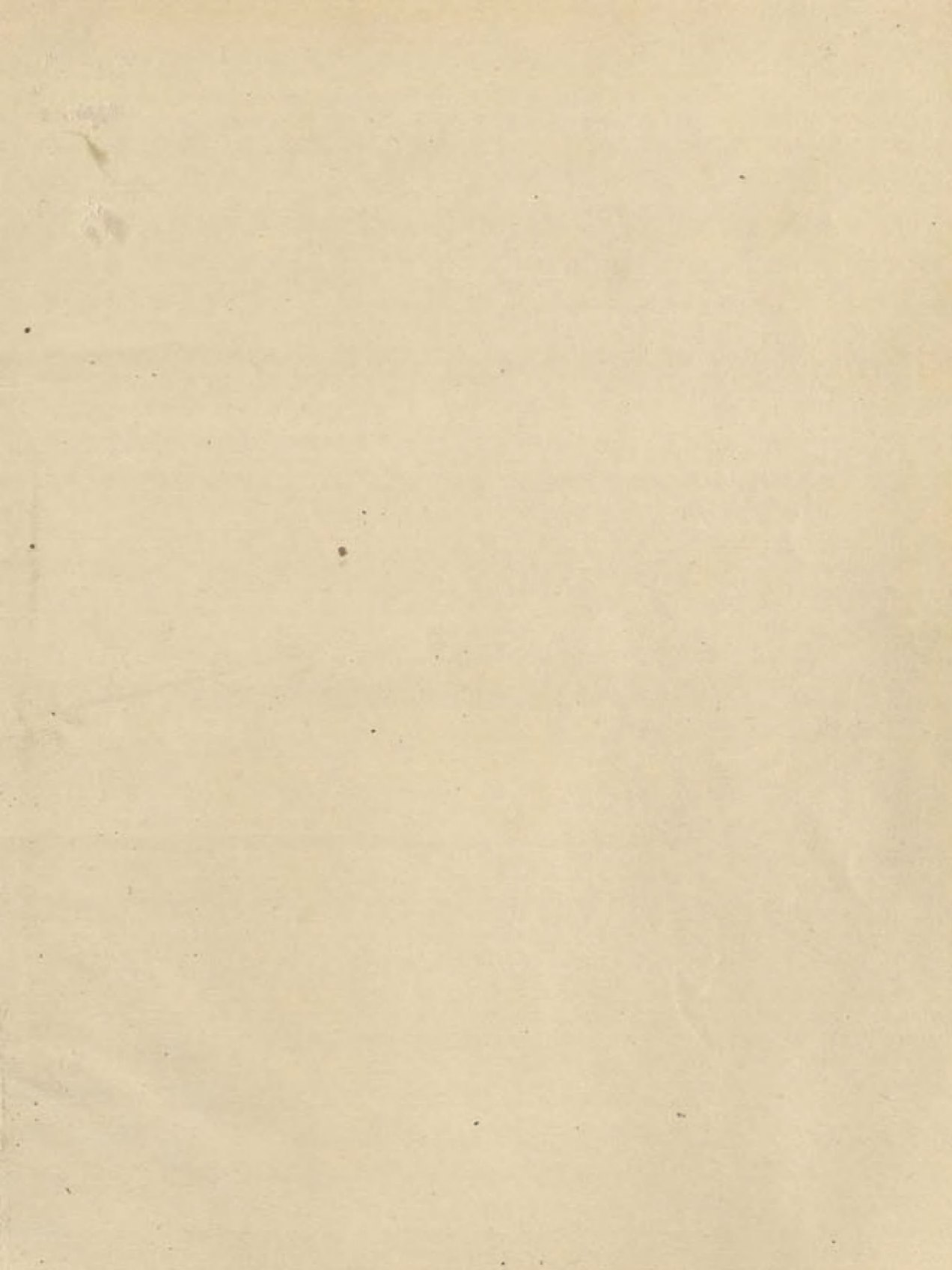
2. The upper portions, with groups of figures on a balcony (JISOA Vol. IV, Pl. VIII) are not included in the photograph and 'tracings' on Pl. XLV.

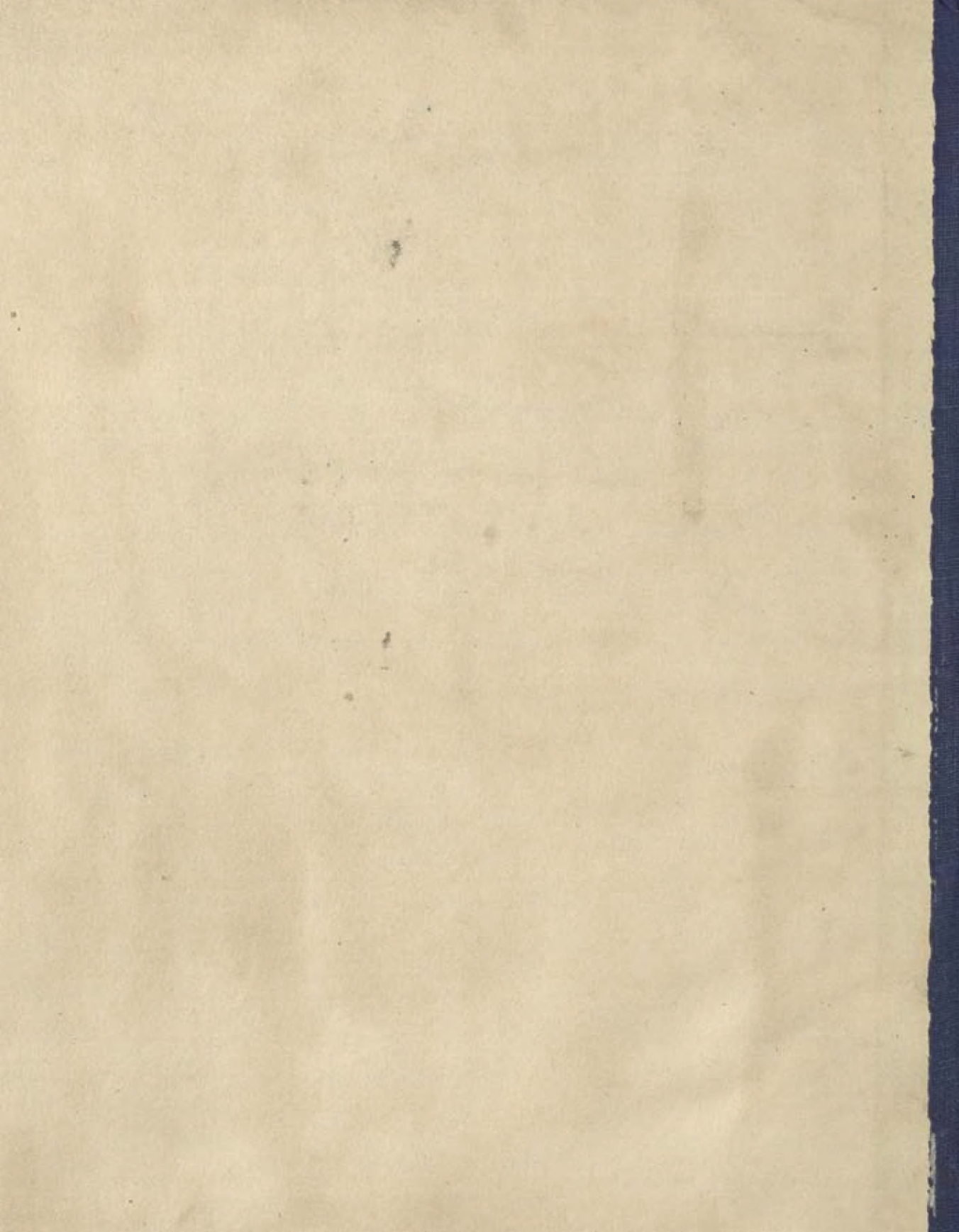


more fully preserved, with a female figure in profile seated on a throne, her face turned, not in the direction of the main figure, while the mudrā of her left hand is as distinct as the attention paid to her by the surrounding women. The composition of this scene is of a type familiar from Amarāvati reliefs. The third panel includes a group of flying figures on clouds, beheld by a large, crowned, standing male figure. While the two former panels were palace scenes, rocks and foliage on the left localise the cloud borne vision.

There are some more fragments of paintings, also on the other side of the carved figure of Garuḍa in the centre of the cornice, and on the walls of the cave, some in complete harmony with carved figures which they supplement. None however are preserved to the extent as are the three panels (Pl. XLV) of which the principles of composition are apparent. The balance in each panel lies between two main groups, a major and a minor, and while the centre is invariably hinted at by a figure of more or less importance and placed as a vertical accent, the tension passes across it.







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